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28 November 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2234

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ECONOMIST DOWNPLAYS PARTY ROLE, STRESSES USSR AS PACESETTER FOR REFORMS

Warsaw GOSPODARKA PLANOWA in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 83 pp 316-322

[Article by Bohdan Glinski, staff member, Planning Institute: "Role of the National Government in Running the Economy Under the Economic Reform"]

[Excerpts] The launching of economic reforms served to focus attention on the structures and roles of executive governmental agencies and executive entities in the business world. As it so happened our knowledge about how executive administrative bodies are formed and how they evolve turned out to be rather meager, since scholars were not encouraged to venture into this area of inquiry.

At the end of the 1970s we took a chance on trying to come up with an outline of the structure of the principal institutions in the hierarchy of political power in Poland. Access to this diagram was kept in restricted channels for some time. The events of 1980-1981, including in particular the crisis of August 1980 and the Ninth Congress of the PZPR (July 1981), have rendered this wiring diagram obsolete, even though it is true that it corresponded to the realities of the latter half of the 1970s. We have reproduced this diagram below as a historical document.

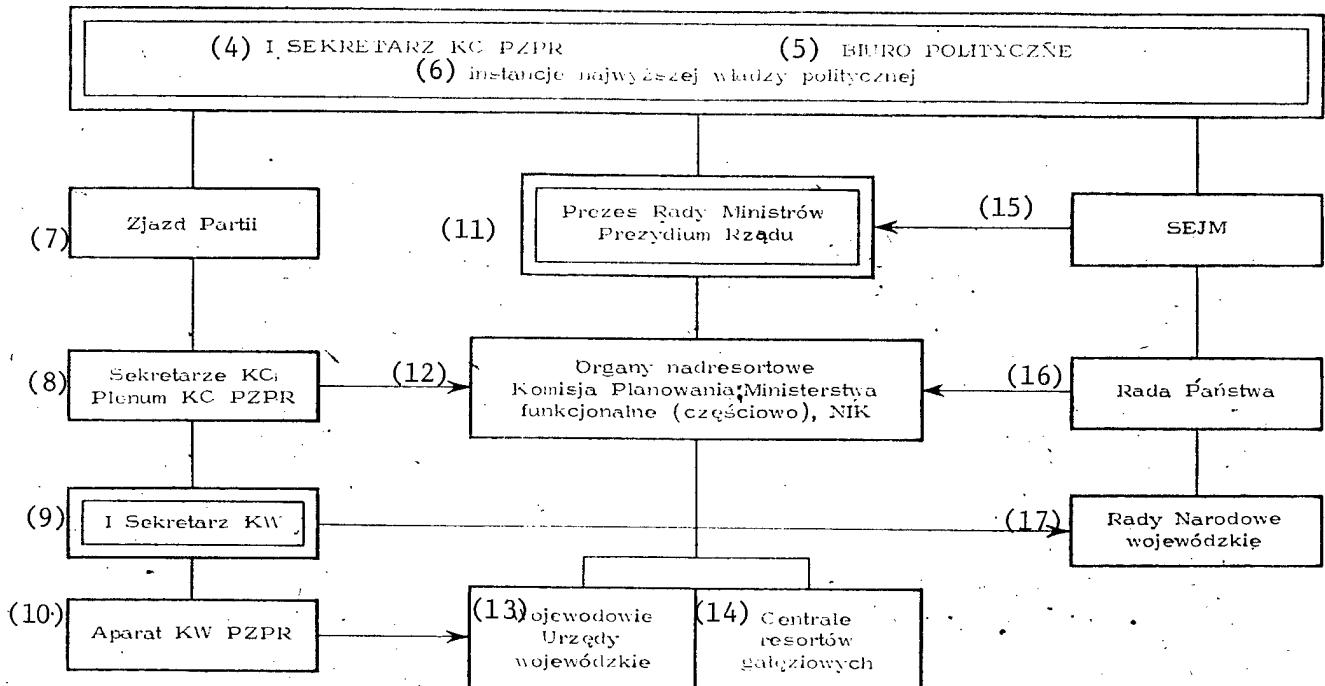
This diagram points to the existence of three multitiered hierarchies of political power and administration, i.e., the party hierarchy, the government hierarchy, and the representative bodies hierarchy. In each one of these hierarchies it is easy to identify several different levels of political or administrative authority.

According to this diagram, the Council of Ministers used to be just one of several transjurisdictional agencies. We deliberately ranked the Politburo as a supragovernmental institution. There can be no question but that the Politburo used to play this role. We have used arrows to identify the most important hierarchical relationships among the respective bodies as they existed during the 1970s. However, there is no questioning the fact that after August 1980--and especially after Wojciech Jaruzelski took over the reins of government in February 1981--the role played by the Council of Ministers was greatly enlarged, even though all of the bodies represented in the diagram are still in existence.

(1) PION PARTYJNY

## (2) PIĘĆ RZĄDOWY

### (3) PION CIAŁ PRZEDSTAWICIELSKICH



(18) podwójna linia dotyczy organów o szczególnej koncentracji władzy

### Key:

1. Party hierarchy
2. Government hierarchy
3. Representative bodies hierarchy
4. First secretary of the PZPR  
Central Committee
5. Politburo
6. Highest ranking institutions in political power hierarchy
7. Party congress
8. Central Committee secretaries; PZPR  
Central Committee plenums
9. First secretaries of PZPR  
provincial committees
10. Apparatus of PZPR provincial committees
11. Chairman of the Council of Ministers;  
Government Presidium
12. Transjurisdictional agencies:  
the Planning Commission;  
functional ministries (to some extent); the Supreme Chamber of Control
13. Governors; provincial government offices
14. Central branch ministries
15. The Sejm
16. Council of State
17. Provincial peoples councils
18. Double lines denote agencies with especially high concentrations of political power

A similar increase in the importance of council of ministers on the one hand and parliamentary bodies on the other can be observed in all countries that have embarked on reform of their economic systems. What is more, these reform processes were accompanied by efforts aimed at curtailing the management responsibilities discharged by governmental bodies at the national level. This has been reflected in a reduction in the number of ministries established for the purpose of handling day-to-day management (administrative) duties. Changes have also taken place in the character of national planning agencies. Attempts have been made to set up these agencies as staff apparatuses of the councils of ministers.

Nor is there anything coincidental about the fact that we also start to talk about economic policymaking at a certain stage in the process whereby economic organizations are endowed with an increasing degree of decisionmaking autonomy. In situations where parties to the decisionmaking process are not equal partners, at least in a de jure sense, policymaking winds up being supplanted by administration, management, and so on. Those bodies which are endowed with a higher level of decisionmaking authority dictate, hint at, and "recommend" problem-solving measures which they deem to be most appropriate.

As we already pointed out, the policymaking areas first cultivated by socialist governments lied in the realm of foreign relations. In other areas the administrative function has so far usually taken precedence over the policy-making function. So, there is nothing unusual about the fact that the argument holding that the governmental process is first and foremost tantamount to the policymaking process could not have been advanced until we had entered a certain phase in the evolution of socialist societies. It is entirely certain that this argument would have been rather unacceptable in the 1950s.

The initiation of processes geared toward the reform of social and economic systems is predicated on the launching of efforts which will make it possible for more and more agencies to make the transition from relying on the application of administrative and managerial techniques to relying on the application of policymaking techniques in economic, social, scientific, and other public policy areas. This process has been under way for some time now in many countries, even though they have not been and are still not aware of this.

When it comes to defining the roles and principal responsibilities of functional ministries the most important objective that needs to be accomplished is the restructuring of the economic system on a nationwide scale. We enumerated the main constituent features of this system above. There is no need to launch an in-depth study in order to discern the severe degree to which all elements of our country's economic system have been eroded.<sup>7</sup>

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7. A fuller substantiation of my views on this subject are contained in my paper "Groundrules for the Establishment of a System of Economic Management Bodies" presented at a conference held in Jablonna in December 1982.

The significance of this problem has a broader dimension and transcends the boundaries of our own country. There are many signs indicating that both the USSR and other socialist countries are going to make some decisions in favor of making the transition to a system which combines planning with a moderate degree of autonomy for economic organizations, although the term "moderate autonomy" may be interpreted and evaluated in different ways. It would be a good idea if we were to adopt a new generic term to describe the economic system that was introduced in Poland in 1982. This is because this system consists of features that have been applied in the Hungarian and Yugoslav models and also a large dose of homegrown improvisations.

If this assumption turns out to be correct, and especially if this option begins to play a larger role in the Soviet Union, then there can be no question but that the highest priority will have to be assigned to goals associated with the restructuring of the economic system both on the scale of individual socialist countries and also on a bloc-wide scale.

To be sure, not all socialist countries have identical economic systems. On the face of it one might hazard voicing the opinion that so far only Czechoslovakia and the GDR have consistently attached relatively great importance to according equal respect to all elements of their respective national economic systems. Hungary has rebuilt its system thanks to a successful economic reform. In the other socialist countries of Europe there is a very great need to mount a consistent and concerted effort dedicated to the wholesale restructuring of their economic systems. If they do not make this effort, the ideals of cost accounting and kholzraschet management [enterprise self-financing] will continue to be nothing more than paper tigers.

CSO: 2600/221

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIA'S CEAUSESCU TOASTS YUGOSLAVIA'S SPILJAK

AU071814 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Nov 83 pp 1, 3

[Toast proposed by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at official dinner given for Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, in Bucharest 2 November 1983]

[Text] Esteemed President Mika Spiljak, esteemed Comrade Stefica Spiljak, comrades and friends: It gives me particular pleasure to warmly welcome you on our fatherland's soil and to extend cordial and comradely greetings on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and government, and on my own behalf.

Continuing the beautiful tradition of Romanian-Yugoslav summit meetings, the visit you are paying reflects the positive relations between our countries, parties, and peoples and our common desire to continue to ensure an increasingly broad framework for them. We believe that there are great possibilities to develop Romanian-Yugoslav relations even more through joint efforts and in all fields to the complete benefit of our countries and peoples. We want these relations to constitute, from every point of view, an example of relations between neighbouring socialist countries carrying out a multifaceted cooperation and collaboration in a spirit of full equality, mutual esteem and respect in order to build the new system and to ensure a free, independent, and happy life for their peoples. During the talks we began today, we expressed our determination to do all we can so that this cooperation will become closer and closer, in the belief that it is in keeping with the interests of the progress of Romania and Yugoslavia and constitutes a contribution to the cause of international peace and cooperation.

As European socialist countries--and especially countries located in the same area, the Balkans--Romania and Yugoslavia have many common interests. Our peoples are deeply interested in actively cooperating so that a lasting atmosphere of trust and cooperation is established in the area in which they live, in Europe, and throughout the world, an atmosphere that will permit them to firmly devote their efforts to their socioeconomic progress under conditions of peace and tranquility.

As is known, grave tension has been reached in the international arena. The arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, has intensified as never before, old conflicts still persist and are aggravated and new ones emerge and one resorts much too easily to the use or threat of force and to violating the peoples' sovereign rights to freedom and independence. All this constitutes an increasingly serious threat for people's lives, peace, and security in the world.

This is why the fundamental problem of our time is to halt the arms race and to proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to ensure peace throughout the world. It is more than ever necessary now that the peoples and progressive forces everywhere to strengthen their cooperation and solidarity and to act more unitedly to halt the aggravation of international tension, the trend toward a nuclear catastrophe, and to bring about the resumption and assertion of the policy of detente, cooperation, and respect for national independence and peace.

We firmly advocate a halt to the deployment of the new medium-range missiles in Europe and the removal and destruction of the ones in place. We believe that everything must be done to achieve an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on stopping the deployment of medium-range missiles and on removing and destroying existing ones. In our view, the proposals made by both sides open real possibilities for an appropriate and equitable agreement within the Geneva negotiations.

We must firmly reject the thesis according to which the deployment of the new missiles will accelerate the achievement of an understanding and will ensure peace and security. It is necessary to openly tell the peoples that the deployment of the new missiles will intensify the arms race even more, will increase the danger of a war and the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. At the same time, through the deployment of the new missiles the nonproliferation treaty provisions will be violated and a dangerous precedent will be created that will, in fact, open up the road to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Those state leaders and politicians who accept the deployment of medium-range missiles on their countries' territories assume great responsibility not only toward their own peoples but also toward peace and the life of all nations and of the whole of mankind. Security and peace cannot be achieved with new weapons, but by cutting them back and by achieving a balance of forces at the lowest level.

The European peoples are vitally interested in the nondeployment of new missiles in Europe, in proceeding to removing existing ones, and in ensuring security based on a Europe without nuclear weapons.

Romania has hailed with satisfaction the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting and the achievement of a consensus on organizing a conference on trust, security, and disarmament in Europe at the beginning of next year. It is very important to continue the efforts aimed at strengthening and developing the results attained in order to achieve a united Europe of peace and cooperation--a fact that will play an important role throughout the international arena.

Romania firmly advocates the development of cooperation among all countries in the Balkan area, the solution of all problems still existing between certain countries by negotiations, and the development of broad bilateral and multilateral cooperation; it advocates turning this area into an area of peace and cooperation, without nuclear weapons and without foreign military bases. For this purpose, we believe that it is necessary to organize a summit meeting of all countries in this area in order to act together to achieve our peoples' desire to live in peace and to cooperate.

We are against the use or threat of force in resolving various problems. We believe that it is necessary to do everything to halt existing conflicts and to resolve problems by peaceful negotiations alone. In this spirit, Romania firmly advocates resolving the Middle East problems by negotiations and the organization of an international conference with the participation of all countries concerned that will bring about a lasting and just peace and a solution to the Palestinian problem, including the creation of an independent Palestinian state. We also advocate an unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from Lebanon and the success of the conference regarding the achievement of an understanding among all Lebanese forces in order to ensure Lebanon's independence, integrity, and unity.

We believe it is necessary to do everything to stop the conflict between Iran and Iraq and to resolve problems between them by negotiations by proceeding from respect for the independence and sovereignty of both countries and from the interests of peace and security in that area.

Taking into consideration the serious situation of the developing countries, we believe that it is necessary for them to strengthen their solidarity and cooperation and to act in a more united manner to establish a common strategy in negotiations with the developed countries to resolve the problems of underdevelopment, of cutting back interest rates and debts, and to achieve a new economic world order.

Romania is broadly developing relations with all countries, irrespective of social system. We firmly advocate, in relations among all countries, the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, and renunciation to the use or threat of force.

Resolving the complex problems of the present-day world requires an active participation, on an equal footing, of all states, irrespective of social system, in the international activity, and especially the participation of small and medium-sized countries, of the developing and nonaligned countries.

We greatly appreciate the role played by the nonaligned countries in the international activity in promoting a policy of independence, cooperation, and peace. We also favor enhancing the role of the United Nations and of all international organizations in democratically resolving all problems and in ensuring peace, progress, and the freedom of peoples.

Although international problems are particularly grave and complex, we are firmly convinced that the peoples--by acting in complete unity--will be able to halt the trend toward a war and a nuclear catastrophe and have it in their power to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, in order to assert the policy of cooperation, independence, and peace throughout the world.

I want to express complete satisfaction with the active cooperation between our two countries in the international arena and with the fact that on most international issues our countries' positions are identical or very close.

I am convinced that the visit you have paid to Romania will open up new prospects for cooperation and collaboration between our countries, parties, and peoples both at a bilateral and international level.

With this conviction, let us toast:

- Romanian-Yugoslav friendship and cooperation;
- the progress and prosperity of friendly socialist Yugoslavia;
- the health of President Mika Spiljak and of Comrade Stefica Spiljak;
- peace and cooperation throughout the world;
- and the health of all of you! (applause)

CSO: 2700/43

ALBANIA

DELEGATE ATTACKS SUPERPOWERS AT UNESCO

AU041537 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT 4 Nov 83

[Text] Tirana, November 4 (ATA)--At the sitting of November 3, 1983, of the 22nd general conference of UNESCO, which is holding its proceedings in Paris, the floor was also taken by the head of the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Prof. Sofokli Lazri who said among others:

The putting at the agenda of this session of the assembly of UNESCO of the problems which have to do with colonialism and racism, armament race, world economic order, the need of a cultural and scientific cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual interest, is suitable and their discussion might be useful. But in order that the discussion be really fruitful and assist somewhat to the solution of the problems it is indispensable that it must be sincere, principled and open. On the contrary, it might create the illusion that something is being done when nothing is done, arouse sham hopes while the situation continues to be the same or becoming worse.

The present session is convened when the international situation is grave, complex and very explosive. Not only freedom and independence of this or that country, but also peace and general security are under a constant threat. The responsibility for this situation falls on the superpowers, on their expansionist and hegemonic policy, on their policy of dictate and interference in the internal affairs of others, on their attempts to plunder the assets of different countries, on their great thirst to impose on the peoples their mode of living.

He pointed out further on that the result of this aggressive course is the Middle East, is the tragedy of the Palestinian people and the destruction of Lebanon, is Afghanistan and Nicaragua, is the barbarous aggression of the U.S.A. against Grenada, to which an end must be put as soon as possible, is also that great, oppressive and suffocating poverty which exists in many countries.

Speaking of the continuation of the economic crisis with destructive effects and with grave consequences not only for the present, but also for the future, the colossal debts the poor countries have to the monopolies and the governments of the big capitalist countries, the terrible plunder through the

interest rates, the plunder that takes place through the arms trade, the great business of the superpowers and of some big industrialized countries, the armament race, etc. He stressed that all this expresses better than anything else the essence and the aggressive and exploiting nature of the imperialist system.

The peoples have not and will not reconcile themselves with this situation created by the imperialism and great international capital. Facts go to show that the struggle of the peoples for the defence of the freedom and sovereignty, for the normal and unhindered development of the economy and culture, the avoidance of war and preservation of peace, the struggle for the defence of their rights and assets has been intensified. The Albanian people hail and support this struggle, being fully convinced that it will be crowned with success.

Much is actually spoken and discussed over the need of the establishment of a new economic order, which many people conceive as a possibility to establish order and justice in the international economic relations, as a key to solve the problems of food and industrialization of the developing countries, of the modernization of the productive structures, of education, etc.

The change of the nature of the existing international economic relations, as well as the elimination of the privileges and the positions that the imperialists and the neocolonialists enjoy in many countries is a necessity. The correct road, he stressed, is the struggle of the peoples for the defence of their political and economic rights to the end, the resolute opposition to the neocolonialist plunder, the acquisition and sovereign administration of the national assets, the prohibition of foreign capital to act in whatever form in the national territory of each country. It is only the genuine independent countries that can force the great imperialist and capitalist countries to establish equal and mutual beneficial exchanges with the others.

The various peoples and nations are actually being hit by a real aggression waged by the imperialist powers in the field of culture, education, science, etc. This aggression, which is expressed through the imposition of the cosmopolitan philosophies the feeling of inferiority to what is foreign, of the commercialism of the literary-artistic creativeness, etc., aims at hitting the historical traditions, the national cultures, the special and original psychic [words indistinct] powerful spiritual barriers which hinder the economic expansion and the political hegemony of the superpowers.

We, in Albania, have not and will not admit this culture exported by imperialism. We refute the way of living and the model of tastes it spreads. We have nothing to learn and profit from it.

Our country is for cultural and scientific changes with the other countries, especially with the neighbours, based on the mutual benefit, and the noninterference, without discriminations and prejudices. These exchanges which we

are practising and expanding constantly with many countries, serve the reciprocal recognition of the best values created by the peoples and the strengthening of friendship between them.

Further on, Prof Sofokli Lazri stressed that the cultural and scientific cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual interest is an important factor for the consolidation of peace, friendship and understanding among the peoples. But if this is done among the states, moreover it must be done among different nations, which are forced by history, to live within the boundaries of a state. Their common interest demands that the values of their national culture, their spiritual creativeness be mutually exchanged and respected. Furthermore, such an exchange in this field creates a suitable situation for a normal coexistence, it helps directly in the establishment of equality among the citizens both in regard to the rights and duties.

Unfortunately, it is noticed that there are countries where education in the mother tongue and the cultural development of the nationalities, which are relatively smaller in number than others, or of the ethnic minorities, are prohibited, discriminated and persecuted. The pursuing of such a policy by the greater nations towards the smaller nations in the field of education and culture, the attempts for their cultural assimilation by violence, run counter to the rights of the peoples and the international laws, therefore they are condemnable.

Our century-long experience has taught us that our small people have managed to resist the storms of the history, not only due to their combatant and insurgent spirit, but also due to the strength of their culture. By preserving their culture, they have preserved their identity as a people and as a nation.

Hence, the problem of the development of culture in our country has been considered as the most vital problem, as an indispensability for the defence of the freedom and independence and as a condition for the construction of socialism.

Since the first days after the liberation, the leader of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that "the country needs more bread, but it needs also more culture and education. This culture and education must not be an unnecessary ornament but they must serve the general interest, so that to produce more and better, to raise the standard of living in our country. We need that culture that will make the people more capable to work and produce and we must make this culture and education a weapon for the broad working masses."

On this basis and adhering to those principles, the new culture has been developed, a culture which helps in guaranteeing the gained freedom and the independent development, a culture which makes the man nobler and assists him to become a citizen that loves his people and country, that loves and respects the other peoples, that admires everything progressive, democratic and human in the world.

Then he said that a profound revolution has been carried out in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the field of culture and education. Today, our country, with a population of about 2,800,000 inhabitants, has 55,000 higher cadres, has hundreds of cultural and scientific institutions, the 8-grade education is compulsory to all and secondary education will be compulsory, the educational and cultural level of the peasantry has been elevated, the emancipation of the woman is considered as an indispensable condition for a free and cultured social life.

In conclusion, he said that the Albanian delegation will not fail to make its modest contribution to the proceedings of this session of the general conference of UNESCO and will join its efforts with those of the delegations of the peace-loving and freedom-loving countries.

CSO: 2020/27

ALBANIA

CONTINUAL CONSOLIDATION OF ATHEISTIC THOUGHT

AU021642 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Hulusi Hako, Dr of Philosophical Sciences: "The Triumph of Atheistic Thought"]

[Text] As the classics of Marxism-Leninism have emphasized, under the socialist order society passes from the reign of necessity into that of freedom. This also includes the freedom of the human consciousness, the freedom to organize society's entire activity in compliance with the objective laws of development. Comrade Enver has said that "the ideal of socialism is not only to liberate workers socially and economically, but also to liberate them from the spiritual enslavement of foreign ideologies. Socialism is the only order which creates all the conditions for the realization of the people's all-round emancipation."

History shows that our people have never been fanatical to the degree that they could not distinguish the anti-patriotic and anti-national activity of the adherents of religious faith. The casual changing of one's faith--something which is evident at least beginning with the late middle ages--shows in itself that changing from one religion to another did not bother our people, for they did not deeply believe in either one or the other and did not expect any good from either one. The continual occupations, each of which brought its own faith, and the alternations between them meant that religion was not able to penetrate very deeply and to consolidate itself in the Albanian spirit.

On the other hand, throughout our country's history, religion and sects have not only been the loaded weapon used by social reaction, but also a weapon of the occupying enemies. Our people have never confused faith with nation, religion with the homeland. The slogan of the Renaissance [19th century Albanian national liberation movement], "the religion of the Albanian is Albanianism," is a synthesis of this evaluation in the Albanian people's consciousness.

Having seen that religion's obedient clergy were servants of every occupier and every enemy, and having seen that they changed their flag according to the foreigner's emblem, experience convinced our people that churches and mosques were the seat of anti-Albanianism and of the highest treason against the homeland.

This experience was made even more clearly evident by the national liberation struggle when, very openly, the Catholic clergy and those of other faiths, welcomed fascism and nazism and followed them in all their activities in opposition to the people's aspirations and patriotic spirit. The people could not forgive even the clergy, who held themselves to be "holy," for this betrayal.

The great socio-economic transformations in these 4 decades of socialism have also been a convincing experience that everything in society is created solely through the people's toil, without any "heavenly" aid, but by relying totally on our own forces. The implementation of the principle of relying upon our internal forces and the achievements of socialism in compliance with that principle have shown that nothing falls from the sky. (If we exclude rainfall!)

The socialist ideology, as the ruling ideology in our country, has created the subjective conditions under which the people's minds can be enlightened by scientific truth. Due to its proletarian class nature, socialist ideology cannot co-exist with the opium of religion, with deception, and demagogy.

Other people's bitter experience has also convinced our people that religion is inextricably tied to reaction of all hues. The re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union also brought about the revitalization and flourishing of religion, because it is the best instrument with which to pacify the workers' consciousness. Today the Soviet revisionists praise themselves because they have "created the possibility for the Tadzhistan women to go to the mosque." The United States Congress has added to the text of its oath these words: "This people under the rule of God."

The propaganda of the Vatican and American diplomats who say that "Albania has persecuted religious leaders." and that "there is terrorism against believers," is a part of their hostile activity against socialist Albania, the people, and the revolution. Socialism does not act against the clergy and the believers with persecutions and reprisals, as Bismark acted against the Catholic church in Germany under the pretext of the so-called Kulturkampf. Our party's struggle against religious faith has always been a struggle to raise human dignity. It argues and opposes every kind of faith, but respects its bearers who have become believers under particular historical conditions and who, thus, cannot be immediately liberated from this.

Liberating our people's consciousness from unfounded religious faiths has been a gradual process of conviction. The separation of the state and schools from the church, the daily education of society's members with socialist ideals, the unmasking of the clergy's hostile activity, and the revolutionary movement against faiths and backward customs have been some of the steps through which this struggle has passed. Throughout this movement we have always respected that which Comrade Enver has said: "To believe or not believe is each person's right. It is a matter of conscience and not a matter of institutions, or the desires of the mullahs, despots, or the pope of Rome." In our country religion was not combatted with laws

and state decrees, nor with constrictions and force. This was also expressed by a mother of the Greek minority when she answered a foreign journalist who asked her "where is your church and your priest?"

She answered that "neither the church nor the priest saved me from the landlords. When they ruled, they neither gave me bread to eat, nor water to drink, nor electricity, nor did they educate my sons and daughters... That is why I love the party and not the priest...."

Whole generations are being raised in Albania without any religious feelings. They look at the preserved religious buildings and see in them only their artistic beauty. Our society continues even today to cleanse the consciousness of the remnants of religion and faith which cannot be uprooted in one day or several years, but with a continual revolutionizing struggle.

CSO: 2100/13

BULGARIA

BALKAN YOUTH PEACE MEETING HELD IN SOFIA

Opens 30 October

AU302040 Sofia BTA in English 1918 GMT 30 Oct 83

[Names, acronyms of Greek, Cypriot delegations as received]

[Excerpt] Sofia, 30 Oct (BTA)--Under the motto "For Peace, Friendship and Co-operation, for Converting the Balkans Into a Zone Free of Nuclear Weapons," the meeting of the youth of the Balkan countries and Cyprus opened here today. In it participate representatives of: the Greek Communist Youth "Rigas Fereos," the Communist Youth of Greece (CNE), the Youth of the All Greek Socialist Movement Pasok (CODICO), the Youth of the Greek Party of the Democratic socialism, the Broad Democratic Organization of the Youth of Cyprus (EDON), the Youth of the Cyprus Democratic Party (NEDIC), the Organization of the Cyprus Socialist Youth (EDEN), the Union of the Communist Youth of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Union of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth and the Bulgarian Dimitrov Young Communist League. The meeting is also attended by representatives of students' organizations of Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus and Romania, as well as representatives of the International Students' Union, the International Federation of the Associations of the Medical-Students and the World Federation of the Democratic Youth, all of them as observers.

Zhivkov Greetings

AU302041 Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT 30 GMT 30 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia, 30 Oct (BTA)--At the meeting of the youth of the Balkan countries and Cyprus which opened here today, a message of greetings by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC OF THE BCP and president of the State Council to the participants in the meeting was read.

In the message of greetings it is said that the decision for the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles on the territory of some countries of Western Europe is a step extremely dangerous to peace. The peoples have condemned this step.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov stressed that peace is the only reasonable alternative to the nuclear catastrophe. By implementing the constructive joint programme for strengthening peace and the international security of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, Bulgarian pursues a consistent policy of doing away with the threat of nuclear war. The numerous peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries are launched by a sincere concern about the fate of mankind and not by a wish to gain unilateral benefits, said the Bulgarian head of state and party leader.

Only on the principles of equality and equal security there could be reached a mutually acceptable agreement at the Geneva negotiations and there could be prevented the further stepping up of the arms race, reads the message of greetings in part.

Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed that the Bulgarian peoples have had a constant strong desire for the relations of good neighbourliness and cooperation, of peace and friendship with all peoples in the Balkans be consolidated [sentence as received]. Bulgaria is an active initiator in the efforts made for converting the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons. The translating of this idea into life corresponds to the interest of all Balkan peoples and will be a real contribution to strengthening peace and the security in Europe and throughout the world. Bulgaria is following with interest and attention the initiatives the other Balkan countries launch with a view to materializing the idea of nuclear-free Balkans.

Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed that the meeting of the youth of the Balkans and Cyprus is an expression of the determination of the young people to actively participate in the struggle for peace and happy future.

#### Filipov 'Assesses' Meeting

AU012051 Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 1 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, 1 Nov (BTA)--An unprecedented event in the history of the youth movement in the Balkans, this is how Mr Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, assessed the meeting of the youth of the Balkan countries and Cyprus which is being held under the motto "For Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, for Converting the Balkans Into a Zone Free of Nuclear Weapons."

Today Mr Grisha Filipov received the heads of the delegations participating in the meeting. He delivered the greetings of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, and of the whole party and state leadership and wished a great success in the noble struggle for doing away with the danger of war, for converting the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons, into a zone of peace.

Mr Grisha Filipov acclaimed this initiative and gave high assessment to the striving of the youth organizations of the Balkan countries to cooperate in the uniting of the ranks in the peoples' struggle for preventing the

thermonuclear catastrophe. He stressed that on the background of the antiwar movement which has spread over the world the meeting assumes an international importance. This meeting corroborates of the great uniting force of the idea of converting the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons.

Mr Grisha Filipov expressed conviction that the meeting will be a contribution to the struggle for peace and happiness on the earth, that it will have a wide response on the part of the peace-loving world public, that it will become a permanent forum for expressing the staunch determination of the young people of the Balkans to struggle for a permanent and just peace. He said that Bulgaria's Government will back up each peace initiative of the youth organization-participants in the meeting and will contribute to its translating into life.

Meeting Ends 2 November

AU022143 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Nov 83

[Text] On 2 November the meeting of youth from the Balkan countries and Cyprus "For Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation, for Turning the Balkans Into a Nuclear-Free Zone" ended. Belcho Ivanov, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee and chairman of the roundtable discussions, chaired the last meeting. A communique was adopted, which notes the great interest with which the participants heard the greeting message of Comrade Tudor Zhivkov to the meeting. They expressed their conviction that every constructive proposal, initiative, and action, aimed toward decreasing confrontation and international tension and eliminating a nuclear conflict, obtain a special significance against the background of the increasing threat to peace.

Taking this fact under consideration the youth of the Balkan countries and Cyprus expressed their total support for the idea of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone. The implementation of this humane and highly noble idea is in the interest of all Balkan countries, including the young population. The participants expressed their total solidarity with the just cause of the Cypriot people and youth. They support the efforts for achieving a peaceful and just solution to the Cypriot problem, in accordance with the UN resolution.

CSO: 2200/30

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

HAITIAN CP SECRETARY--Sofia, 10 Nov (BTA)--Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, and Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, met Mr Rene Theodore, secretary general of the Parti Unifie des Communistes Haitiens, who is on visit here. In the course of the talks views were exchanged on some topical international problems and especially on the tense situation in Europe, Central America and the Caribbean, caused by the moves for the deployment of new medium-range American missiles in some West European countries and the outright aggression of the United States of America in Grenada. Some questions pertaining to the further strengthening of the ties between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Parti Unifie des Communistes Haitiens were discussed. Complete identify of views was stated on all the matters discussed. [Text] [AU101912 Sofia BTA in English 1826 GMT 10 Nov 83]

GUINEAN PARTY CONGRESS--On 13 November a BCP delegation led by Ivan Shpatov, BCP Central Committee member, departed for Conakry, where it will take part in the 12th Congress of the Guinean Democratic Party. [Text] [AU132043 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 13 Nov 83]

MESSAGE FROM DPRK--Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has received a message of gratitude from Yi Chong-ok, premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, for the congratulations conveyed to him on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the Republic. The telegram expresses gratification that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries are increasingly developing along ascending lines and wishes are expressed for great successes in the work connected with the practical implementation of the decisions adopted at the 12th BCP Congress. [Text] [AU101239 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Nov 83 p 2]

AMBASSADOR TO LUXEMBOURG--Krum Bosev, the newly appointed Bulgarian ambassador to Luxembourg, has presented his credentials to the Grand Duke Jean. Following the ceremony, talks were held and the grand duke expressed gratitude for the greetings conveyed to him by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council. It was also established that relations between the two countries have developed favorably and that there were possibilities for their further development in all spheres. The grand duke conveyed wishes to Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, for the prosperity of the Bulgarian people. [Text] [AU301615 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 26 Oct 83]

DZHUROV ATTENDS SOFIA MEETING--A meeting organized by the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense with the mothers of young soldiers is being held in Sofia. Comrade Dobri Dzhurov; Colonel General Velko Palin, chief of the Administrative Department at the BBCP Central Committee; Colonel General Kiril Koxev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army; deputy ministers of national defense, and representatives of political and mass organizations attended the meeting. Colonel General Boris Todorov, deputy minister of national defense, delivered a speech. [Excerpt] [AU301615 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Oct 83]

AUSTRIAN CP VISITOR--Sofia, 27 Oct (BTA)--Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, met the member of the Politburo of the CC of the Austrian Communist Party, Mr Anton Hoffer, who is in Bulgaria on the occasion of the "peace and trade unions" international meeting-dialogue in Sofia. Views were exchanged at the meeting pertaining to the further development of relations between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Austrian Communist Party, as well as to other questions of mutual interest. Special attention was paid to the deterioration of the international situation at the fault of the aggressive moves of the American imperialism and its NATO allies. Complete identity of stands of the two fraternal parties was stated and the necessity was stressed for strengthening the struggle of the communists, all forces who stand for peace, disarmament and for saving mankind from a thermonuclear catastrophe. [Text] [AU301615 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 27 Oct 83]

FRENCH COLLOQUIUM--Sofia, 28 Oct (BTA)--A Bulgaro-French colloquium was held in Varna, 24 through 28 October, on the problems of protecting the industrial property. It is organized by the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Bulgarian national group with the international association for protection of industrial property (AIPPI) and the Council for Protection of Industrial Property. The French participants in the colloquium delivered papers on the activity of the National Institute for Industrial Property, the order of issuing patents in France and the rights acquired with the patent, the procedure of issuing and European patent [as received] and on some marks and the protection of unpatented technical inventions. The Bulgarian papers were treating the matters of obtaining and granting licences in Bulgaria, the order of patent and author's certificate issuing and protection of trademarks and industrial samples. The decree on economic cooperation between Bulgarian and foreign juridical and physical persons, regulating industrial cooperation and the setting up of joint ventures, was reviewed. Special attention was attached to the controversial question of legal protection of computer softwares--a field of great importance for Bulgaria as a manufacturer of such equipment and the respective software. [Text] [AU301615 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 28 Oct 83]

ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION VISIT ENDS--Sofia, 28 Oct (BTA)--The visit of the delegation of Socialist Ethiopia, led by Mr Ashagre Igletu [spelling as received], member of the CC of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) and director of the Nationalities Institute of Bulgaria ended. The delegation was on a visit here since 21 October. The guests had talks with Mr Yaroslav Radev, vice-president of the State Council, held meetings in the National Council of the Fatherlands Front and the Central

Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, in the Chief Prosecutor's Office and the Supreme Court. They evinced interest in the structure and activity of the State Council, the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers and the local representative bodies, in their interaction. The delegation visited economic, historical and cultural landmarks in Sofia and throughout the country. [Text] [AU301615 Sofia BTA in English 1617 GMT 28 Oct 83]

BELGIAN TRADE UNION DELEGATION--Sofia, 8 Nov (BTA)--The preservation of peace--this is the most important problem to be discussed, said Mr Alfred Delourme [spelling as received], secretary general of the General Federation of Labour in Belgium, at the official talks with a delegation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions headed by the deputy chairman of the Central Council, Mr Georgi Evgeniev. The official talks began here today. The delegation of the federation arrived last night. Stressing the responsibility the trade unions bear before workers, both delegations pointed to the need of united trade union actions in the struggle for the preservation of peace, for the averting of the threat of war. Mr Alfred Delourme spoke about the active participation of the Belgian workers in the anti-military movement. [Text] [AU081833 Sofia BTA in English 1815 GMT 8 Nov 83]

MAYOR OF VIENNA VISITS--Sofia, 8 Nov (BTA)--Mr Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, received today the mayor of Vienna, Mr Leopold Gratz. In the course of the friendly talks satisfaction was expressed with the development of Bulgaro-Austrian relations in different spheres. Underlined was the mutual willingness to further develop the contacts and co-operation in the economy, science and technology by using new, more effective forms. It was stressed that the good relations between Sofia and Vienna and their further promotion will help the expansion and deepening of the friendly relations of Bulgaria and Austria and the mutual enlightenment of the two friendly peoples. Mr Petur Mezhdurechki, Mayor of Sofia, attended the meeting. The mayor of Austria [as received], who is deputy-chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party, pointed out at a press conference today that the relations between the two countries can set an example of good relations between states with different social systems. Before his departure the guest paid special attention to the joint efforts made by Bulgaria and Austria for the preservation of peace in the Balkans and the world. [Text] [AU081446 Sofia BTA in English 1423 GMT 8 Nov 83]

NEW SFRY AMBASSADOR--Ilija Djukic, the newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFRY to Bulgaria, has arrived in Sofia today. [Text] [AU311206 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Oct 83 p 8]

STOICHKOV TO CSSR--A Bulgarian economic delegation, headed by Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Bulgarian-CSSR Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, departed for Prague today in order to participate in the 23d session of the committee. [Text] [AU311206 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 31 Oct 83]

SYRIAN COOPERATION--Sofia, 28 Oct (BTA)--The state and prospects of the economic and techno-scientific cooperation between the Central Cooperative Union

of the Craftsmen's Cooperatives of the Syrian Arab Republic for the period up to 1985 were discussed at the talks between the two unions' delegations which were held here. The two unions' chairmen, Mr Ivan Prumov and Mr Ali Al Turkmani [spelling as received] signed a protocol in which a satisfaction is expressed with the friendly relations between the cooperatives of Bulgaria and Syria. There is expressed a deep conviction that there cannot be a just and stable peace in the region of the Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories and without the restoration of the legal national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The Central Cooperative Union intends in the future, too, to render assistance in the training of cooperative cadres through organizing courses in Syria and through admitting Syrian cooperative farmers to the International Cooperative School of the Central Cooperative Union in Bulgaria. [Excerpt] [AU301637 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 28 Oct 83]

TANZANIAN PARTY COOPERATION--Sofia, 28 Oct (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Bozhinov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, met the delegation of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, led by Mr Seif Sharif Hamadn [spelling as received] member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Party Committee. Readiness was expressed to continue bilateral cooperation in the economic and social spheres. The guests made a high assessment of the help of the BCP and Bulgaria for the development of Tanzania's Revolutionary Party. In discussing the problems of peace and disarmament identity of views was found. [Text] [AU301637 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 28 Oct 83]

USSR CHEMICAL COOPERATION--Georgi Pankov, minister of chemical industry, and Anatoliy (?Kuchetkov), first deputy minister of Mineral Fertilizer Production of the USSR, have signed a document on the basic trends toward the development of specialization of production-sharing in the sphere of the production of mineral fertilizers and chemical materials for plant protection until 1990. This document provides for further expanding and deepening the integrational ties between the two countries in the sphere of scientific-technical cooperation and standardization. [Text] [AU301637 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Oct 83]

LEADERS ATTEND TURKISH CELEBRATION--Omer Lutem, Turkish ambassador to Bulgaria, has given a reception on the embassy's premises on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey. The following persons were present: Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council; Andrey Lukonov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; members of the government; deputy chairmen of the National Assembly; deputy ministers; representatives of business circles and heads of religious communities. Chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria also attended the reception which passed in a friendly atmosphere. [Text] [AU301637 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 28 Oct 83]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO NIGERIA--Lagos, 1 Nov--BTA report. Dimitur Vulev, the newly appointed Bulgarian ambassador to Nigeria, has presented his credentials to Shehu Shagari, president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Following the ceremony, they exchanged views on issues of mutual interest. [Text] [AU061436 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Nov 83 p 7]

PORUGAL'S CUNHAL GREETED--Sofia, 9 Nov (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, has wired congratulations to Mr Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Communist Party of Portugal, on his 70th birthday and awarding with the Bulgarian "Georgi Dimitrov" Order. The message reads in part that remarkable is the contribution of the Communist Party of Portugal to building a new, democratic Portugal, to the defense of the revolutionary achievements of the Portuguese people, to mobilizing the Portuguese workers in the struggle for peace and disarmament. Conviction is expressed that the traditional ties between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Portugal will deepen on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the name of the common struggle for peace and socialism, in the interest of the friendship and fruitful cooperation between Bulgaria and Portugal. [Text] [AU091822 Sofia BTA in English 1635 GMT 9 Nov 83]

CSO: 2200/30

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED ORGAN ON AUSTRIAN RELATIONS AFTER STATE VISIT

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Oct 83 p 2

[Unsigned editorial: "A Dialogue Useful to Both Peoples and to Peace--Comment on Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger's State Visit to the GDR"]

[Text] There are good reasons why the state visit of the president of the Austrian Republic, the comprehensive dialogue between Erich Honecker and Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger in Berlin, are meeting with such a strong echo among the international public. At a time when the fanatics of rearmament and confrontation are callously exacerbating the situation in the world and increasing the risk of war, the GDR and Austria illustrate that peaceful coexistence between states of differing social systems is not only possible but exceedingly fruitful--for the people in both countries and for their most important concern of living in secure peace.

The joint communique about the visit of the Federal president stresses the positive results in the bilateral relations achieved since Erich Honecker's state visit to Austria 3 years ago. This applies particularly to economic cooperation but also to science and technology, culture and education, sports and the travel of youth as well as to the humanitarian sector.

In their talks the heads of state noted that they consider the dynamic development of their countries' manifold relations to be the stable foundation for continuing and deepening their good-neighborly cooperation. The communique expresses the firm intention omnilaterally to expand further the cooperation between the two states and peoples on the basis of the Final Act of Helsinki, and the Madrid Final Document based on it, for their mutual benefit as well as in the interest of peace and the relaxation of the international situation. In this, mutually advantageous and undisturbed economic relations with a long-term effect are of first-rank importance. Principal directions of the future development of these relations are--in addition to the actual exchange of goods--manifold forms of cooperation, specialization in production, scientific-technological cooperation, a joint effort in third markets and mutual enlistment in investment activity and in rationalization projects.

Typical of the dynamic economic cooperation between our republic and Austria is the fact that turnover in foreign trade between the two states has more than doubled since 1980. As Erich Honecker noted, this year foreign trade

turnover will increase further--by about 35 percent. In addition to major Austrian enterprises, medium and small enterprises share in this--to an extent of about 40 percent. The so far biggest joint GDR-Austrian asset is the converter steelworks in the EKO [Eisenhuettenstadt East Metallurgical Combine], which is being erected jointly by VOest-Alpine AG [United Iron and Steelworks Inc] and enterprises of our republic. A great number of other Austrian enterprises are participating in the construction of these giant modern metallurgical works and also in chemical plants in Leuna and Schwedt. All told, more than 2,500 Austrian companies are involved in goods exchange with the GDR. As Erich Honecker has reported, in addition to a bilateral goods exchange in 1983 amounting to 15 billion schillings, third-country deals to a value of more than 9 billion schillings will be realized jointly by foreign trade enterprises and combines of the GDR and Austria. A significant increase by 3.5 billion schillings foreseen for 1984 indicates that the positive trend of economic relations with Austria is continuing.

The reason why cooperation of such high quality is possible is that each side respects the political, social and economic order as well as the value concepts of the other, neither side seeks to impose anything on the other, and mutual understanding and trust have grown. It is precisely here that the dialogue between the statesmen plays an extraordinary role. The meetings between Erich Honecker and Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger in Austria in 1980 and now in our republic have made this clear to everyone. The political dialogue is to be continued and to be deepened further--not only at the highest level but at all levels.

There is agreement between the GDR and Austria that it has to be the most important task of all states to ensure peace and to promote initiatives leading to a reduction in tensions. Erich Honecker emphasized: It is up to the statesmen and politicians who are responsible for the destinies of peoples now to do everything in their power to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and to place peace on stable foundations. If it should come to a nuclear war, it would mean the self-annihilation of mankind. Therefore, the striving for a position of predominance, for military superiority and particularly the stationing of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in West Europe planned by NATO are highly dangerous.

Federal President Dr Kirchschlaeger stressed "that Austria is looking with very close attention at the disarmament negotiations in Geneva and Vienna, in the keen expectation that through them it will be possible to achieve a success, comprising all regions and weapons systems at the lowest possible level." He also said: "We Austrians are trying to fulfill this task of peace on the basis of our perpetual neutrality, while the German Democratic Republic tries to do so within the framework of an economic, military and political alliance."

This difference in points of departure notwithstanding, the two heads of state in their detailed exchange of views about current international questions agreed that it is necessary to eliminate existing sources of crises and prevent new ones from emerging, that a decisive turn is needed

toward a policy of detente and toward constructive cooperation between states and that there is a pressing need for ending the armament race. Effective measures of limiting armament and disarmament as far as nuclear and all other weapons categories are concerned should guarantee the security interests of all states on the basis of balance. What is required is early agreements to limit and reduce nuclear weapons arsenals and restrict their qualitative expansion. In light of the importance of the Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the United States, the communique expresses the joint hope of the GDR and Austria that these negotiations may soon lead to a positive result. The balance of military forces should be maintained at the lowest possible level.

Both statesmen advocated effective measures to strengthen the trust between the states. Erich Honecker stressed the readiness of the GDR, on the basis of equality and equal security, to make available its entire territory for a central European zone free of nuclear field weapons, such as had been proposed by Sweden. Dr Kirchschlaeger noted Austria's interest in the idea of nuclear deconcentration in central Europe put up for discussion by Sweden. He expressed his support of a detailed examination and careful consideration of all aspects of this proposal. The chairman of the GDR Council of State described the proposals of the states of the Warsaw Treaty of January and June of this year as a realistic way to an improvement in the international situation. He confirmed the readiness of the GDR to enter into a practical discussion of the proposal for a treaty about mutual renunciation of military force and about the maintenance of peaceful relations between the states of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO--a treaty to which all states could accede. The Federal president noted that such a treaty could be a constructive contribution to the consolidation of world peace if, for example, it strengthened and guaranteed the general prohibition of the use of force anchored in the Charter of the United Nations by creating additional elements of trust so that states which were not a part to it continued to be protected by the general prohibition of the use of force.

The joint communique also contains corresponding points of view concerning the following problems: Peaceful settlement of all points of controversy and international conflicts, the Madrid meetings and the agreement reached there about calling a conference concerning measures for creating trust and security and concerning disarmament in Europe, a comprehensive and just settlement in the Middle East, the role of neutral and nonaligned states and a strengthening of the role of the United Nations. All this indicates the great opportunities for international cooperation between the GDR and Austria in the interest of peace and detente.

The cordial reception of the Austrian Federal president in our republic reflects both respect for the achievements of his people and the peace policy of his country and the pleasure of the citizens of the GDR over the good relationship between our states, to which Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger has made an important contribution. The guest had the opportunity to see for himself how the people in our socialist country live and how determined they are in their support for insuring peace. Particularly in the Eisenhuettenstadt Converter Steelworks but also on a number of other

occasions, he witnessed examples of practical cooperation between people from both countries. At the Pergamon Museum, in the Cathedral of Erfurt and at the places in Weimar where Goethe and Schiller were active, he saw important cultural treasures and noticed how well they are kept and opened up for our times.

Among the most moving hours of the state visit was the one spent on the Ettersberg--the visit of Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger and Erich Honecker to the former Buchenwald concentration camp, in which German and Austrian antifascists along with comrades from many other nations suffered and died, fought and finally triumphed over Hitlerite barbarism. Their testament the oath of Buchenwald, has been fulfilled in our republic. It also lives on in the joint striving of the GDR and Austria to secure for today's and coming generations a life of peace, of peaceful coexistence.

8790  
CSO: 2300/57

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EMIGRE DISSIDENT REPORTS ON JENA DEMONSTRATORS, OWN FLIGHT

Jena Peace Group

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 11 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Henry Leuschner and Karl Winkler: "White Circle"]

[Text] Parallel to the Jena peace group the so-called "White Circle" has been formed since the middle of June. They were all people who applied for exit visas. They united to fight together for their departure, because it became more and more difficult for the individual to endure state repressions and chicaneries. At the workplace and during interrogations they were threatened. At the Department of the Interior, the agency which processes applications for exit visas, the people were no longer admitted when they wanted to inquire about the progress of their applications.

The "White Circle" and the Jena peace group went their separate ways after members of the peace group were told during interrogations, "As far as we are concerned, you are untrustworthy as long as petitioners are working with you and as long as the Jena peace movement is used as a springboard to the West."

Toward the end of June the "White Circle" decided to fight publicly for their emigration. Every Saturday at 9 o'clock they met on the "Square of the Cosmonauts," joined hands and formed a circle. Most of them wore white shirts, which is the reason for the name "White Circle." Approximately 180 people participated and they stood for about 10 minutes. All of them had applied for exit visas. About 800 to 1000 spectators surrounded them. As a result the entire city of Jena was sealed off every Friday evening and stayed that way until Saturday evening. Guards were everywhere. The police and the army were patrolling the city. Every suspicious person was arrested, long hair was enough of a reason. Trains going to Jena were checked. Participants of the "White Circle" who arrived from Leipzig, Weimar or other cities were already detained at the station, some were taken into custody. Long-distance highways to Jena were "secured" through roadblocks. The People's Police and the National People's Army were stationed there with machine guns. Every Saturday--from the end of June until the middle of August--Jena resembled a besieged city.

From week to week the police became more brutal in its treatment of the "White Circle." Provocations, excessive beatings with rubber clubs, also of children. The number of arrests rose. Detainments.

Armin Graf wanted to take pictures of the "White Circle"--as a result he was arrested at the end of June and sentenced to 8 months in prison. Simultaneously there were other actions by those who wanted to emigrate, spray actions, demanding freedom for the imprisoned and the right to emigrate. Others put white sheets in the windows. Most of those who hung white sheets in their windows were arrested, unfortunately their names are not yet known.

People from the "White Circle" met again and again and made agreements with one another. Until the end of August approximately 70 people were able to emigrate to the West. Others were threatened by State Security Service agents, who visited them at their workplace: If they continued to participate in the "White Circle"--they would not receive an exit visa and their children would be sent to a home. But if they were quiet, they would be permitted to leave by the end of 1983. Many participants--in case they should not be outside the country by the end of 1983--are planning further actions, including a hunger strike, if necessary.

More and more of those who want to emigrate were picked up and interrogated. Attempts were made to intimidate and enlist many of them: if they would give information to the State Security Service, they would receive permission to emigrate.

As a consequence, beginning with the middle of August, men in civilian clothes wearing red armbands were positioned around the "Square of the Cosmonauts" every Saturday. Everybody who approached the square was photographed and prevented from continuing on his way.

After that, approximately 20 participants of the "White Circle" stood on the edge of the square every Monday at 2100 hours.

On Monday morning, 22 August, 15 potential emigres decided to meet the following day in the courtyard of the house on Quergasse 8. Marianne Schaefer lived in that house; she had also asked for permission to emigrate.

People who had applied for exit visas were still not admitted to the Department of the Interior and they wanted to discuss together what could be done about it. The day of the meeting was 23 August. Twenty people were present. Together they wanted to write a letter of complaint and send it to Honecker; however, the letter was not to be published in the West. An informer reported the meeting to the State Security Service.

On 28 August, the day of which the letter was to be signed, the State Security Service acted. Seventeen participants of the "White Circle" were picked up and taken to the regional office of the People's Police and interrogated for 24 hours. The State Security Service wanted to know everything about the last meeting, about the planned letter to Honecker, about future actions and, above all things, names, names, names.

Following these 24 hours, 6 people were released, the others were taken into custody and transported to the notorious State Security Service detention center in Gera, where Frank Domaschk met with death. Arrested were Oliver Schwarz, Kerstin Hergert, the Bromberg family (2 persons), Heinz Oxner, Inge Hellmann, Alexander Stachowiak, Marianne Schaefer as well as three others whose names are not known. Kerstin Hergert and Inge Hellmann were already sentenced to 1 year and 8 months in prison. Michael Binder and Armin Graf and many others had already been arrested previously. We ask everybody to work for the release of these people.

#### Foiled Escape, Aftermath

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 11 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Karl Winkler: "Story of the Getaway"]

[Text] On 1 April 1981, Henry Leuschner and his friend Peter Diez from Jena--both of them were 19 years old at that point in time--started on their way to the border, the way to the West.

Several things had happened beforehand: In February 1980, Henry Leuschner, member of the young church in Jena, decided to refuse military service bearing arms and register as a construction soldier. As a consequence, all his chances to study at a university were spoiled, opportunities to qualify no longer existed. He was picked up constantly for interrogations and spied upon. His identification card was taken away from him, and instead he was given a PM 12, a replacement identification card which did not even permit him to travel to socialist foreign countries. Because he was under pressure, he applied for an exit visa on 1 April 1980. "I want to do something with my life," he said. Peter Diez, his friend, who had just been released from prison found himself in similar circumstances. They decided to flee after Henry Leuschner has spent 1 year waiting in vain for his exit visa.

In the evening of 1 August 1981, they arrived in a little town near the border and passed the checkpoint at the railroad station without incident. On the other side is Bavaria. Approximately 2 hours later, when they stood in front of the first fence, they started to get frightened, as Henry later said. Behind the fence they had to run through a large section of a forest, always in fear to be surprised by a guard. The second fence was more difficult. An electric fence. But the fence was only electrified every few minutes. The two waited, and between two power intervals they climbed over the fence. Peter Dietz did not quite make it. He was on top of the fence. He screamed and fell down, but it was on the other side. They did not know whether their flight had been noticed by then, and they continued and ran across a clearing. In the darkness Henry fell into a swampy hole, and just before he went under, Peter Diez was able to pull him out with a branch.

Then they saw the watchtowers and the searchlights. They were crawling across the concrete strip and through the antitank barricade when the

searchlight slid over them. They remained motionless. Finally they reached the last fence. The Federal Border Police discovered the two and signaled to them with lights. And then it happened: Henry stepped on the release lever of an automatic weapons system. An explosion followed and between 800 and 1,000 cube-shaped bullets were fired at Henry and Peter.

Peter was grazed and struck by 8 bullets. Henry got 22. One shot hit him straight in the chest, tore up his parka and identification card and bounced off his blues harmonica which covered his heart. It saved his life.

In addition, one shot grazed his head, another struck the artery on his forearm. Additional shots hit his left calf, which looked like a sieve. Spurts of blood were gushing out of his arm and his legs and Peter, who had been struck himself by eight shots, was able to apply tourniquets to Henry's arm and his legs. Later, during the court proceedings, a border soldier testified that when he heard the explosion he knew immediately that the automatic weapons system had gone off. In spite of it they had been left lying for 20 minutes before they were transported away. In the process, one of the border soldiers took his machine gun and put another bullet into Henry's leg while he was lying on the ground.

The two were placed in a truck, a W 50, which has no suspension whatsoever, and transported to the nearest hospital on dirt roads. Henry lay on a stretcher and he was thrown back and forth when they hit potholes and he screamed all the time. Peter lay on top of him and his blood was dripping on Henry's face. In the hospital both of them were more or less patched up. But Henry's injuries were so serious that his chances of survival were slim. He was transported by helicopter to the government hospital in East Berlin. Every few days he had operations and he was injected with strong pain killers. For 2 weeks he was in danger of losing his life. During this time the State Security Service began its first interrogations, and the rumor was spread in Jena that he was already dead. During the entire period he was in solitary confinement and had no contacts with his family.

Three months after his flight he was taken from East Berlin to the State Security Service detention center in Gera. During the 5-hour trip he was handcuffed and sitting in a tiny, dark cabin without fresh air. He could not move. He was surrounded by sheet metal. A 10- by 20-centimeter piece of skin had been removed from his thigh and sewn on his injured calf. During this trip the wound reopened.

The trial took place on 9 July 1981. Although it was a closed trial--in general, the public is excluded from proceedings of this nature--every seat on the courtroom benches was taken, all of them were occupied by members of the State Security Service. The trial lasted less than 20 minutes. Due to a serious case of "unlawful crossing of the border" Henry Leuschner was sentenced to 1 year and 9 months in prison. Because of his previous conviction, Peter Diez was sentenced to 2 years and 8 months in prison. Without probation, in spite of their serious gunshot wounds.

At the end of July 1981, both of them arrived at the penitentiary in Cottbus, where I met them. But at the end of September Henry was transferred to

Untermannsfeld, because of "propaganda." He had shown other prisoners his gunshot wounds. In Untermannsfeld he spent the entire time in solitary confinement. He associated with other prisoners only when he was working.

The work consisted of manufacturing parts for machine guns. When he refused he was put under arrest and placed in a cell which was 1.50 meters wide and 2 meters long, and it had a bucket instead of a toilet. After 1 year in the penitentiary, he was permitted for the first time to see his mother. He tried to smuggle a secret message and was caught in the process. Again he was placed under arrest and placed in a cell, strapped to a flat stretcher. He stayed that way for 6 days, and the straps were only removed when he ate, when he relieved himself and during his exercise hour. But even when he was exercising he had to wear handcuffs. The stated reason for these measures was an alleged danger of suicide. Later, when he was in solitary confinement, the fixtures were destroyed again and again and poems and drawings were torn up.

One year and 9 months later, on 30 December 1982, he was released in Jena. At this time, October 1983, Peter Diez is still in prison. Henry Leuschner had been active in the Jena "White Circle" since the middle of June 1983, where approximately 180 people were fighting together for exit visas. On 25 August 1983, 17 participants of the "White Circle" were arrested. Eleven of them were detained and six were released. He and his fiance Inka Binder were among the six. "If I am not permitted to emigrate soon, a bomb will go off here," he told the State Security Service. Following a 25-hour interrogation he was accompanied to his residence by State Security agents who wanted to continue the interrogation at his home.

A few days later Henry found out that the others had been arrested. The State Security Service forbade him to get in touch with these people.

On 3 September 1983 he finally received his exit visa, together with his fiance Inka Binder and her daughter. They were to leave on 13 September. But the departure was postponed from day to day. They wanted to torment them until the very end. It continued until 20 September. On this day Henry Leuschner, his mother and Inka Binder were arrested by the State Security Service. Henry was interrogated for 13 hours, Inka for 7 hours and his mother for 6 hours.

The State Security Service would permit Henry's departure only if he agreed to do something for them. He was to go and see the painter Frank Rub and tell him that his friend Greinert had been arrested. "Why should I do that," Henry asked the interrogator. "We have our reasons," was the reply. "I suspect that you want to accuse Rub of transmitting information to the West in case something leaks out about Greinert's arrest. So you can lock him up."

The painter Frank Rub is one of the leaders of the Jena peace group and he refuses to emigrate to the West. At about 2300 hours, after Henry's mother suffered a nervous breakdown, the three were permitted to return home.

The next day, 21 September, Henry, his fiance and her daughter were permitted to depart for the West, there they arrived in the evening of the same day. Now they have reached their goal. And everything was totally different. The constant fear became superfluous, but there were after effects. Henry and his fiance want to start a new life. They want to call this their home and not live as strangers out in the cold.

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REPORT ON DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT OF VISITING POLISH WORKERS

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 16 No 10, Oct 83 (signed to press 23 Sep 83)  
pp 1084-1091

/Article by Wolf Oschlies, consultant at the Federal Institute for Eastern and International Studies in Cologne: "Polish Guest Workers (gastarbeiterzy) in the GDR: Legal Basis and Everyday Life"/

/Text/ For the Poles those were the days--before Jaruzelski's junta declared war on them on 13 December 1981--because the Poles generally call just "war" (wojna) the "state of war" (stan wojenny), then proclaimed. In its early stage, the "state of war" meant a triple imprisonment for the people--inside the national borders, inside the various administrative districts and, at night, inside their homes. That was in stark contrast to the seductive perfumes of the great wide world, that had wafted over the Poles all through 1981. Far more than a million travel passports had been applied for and issued--and a Polish citizen needed such a passport only for travel to the West, because travel to "socialist" countries required no more than a simple notation in the identity papers. In December 1982 someone in the know thus explained where the special attraction was sited, and why it was so:

"Last year, when I asked friends where they would spend their vacations, most of them said that they were going to travel to the West, mainly the FRG. For the young, in particular university students, travel to the FRG, Austria or Sweden represented both a great adventure and the opportunity of a "minor economic stabilization." Evidently the most important consideration was the opportunity to work. In general this was "black" /illegal/ work.<sup>1</sup>

"Minor stabilization"--was the designation given by Polish newspapers and sociologists also to the efforts of young Poles for some prosperity and social upward mobility. In Poland that was increasingly hard to find. At least from the material aspect the West could offer much more, and some clever people managed to get somewhere in a very short time: Jan K., a young engineer from Gdansk, labored for 10 hours a day in a Munich glazier's workshop until he had the money for a car; Bogdan R., teaching assistant at Cracow University, earned DM 100 in a Nuremberg bar and returned to Poland a wealthy man; Jacek G., student from Wroclaw, helped a Stuttgart theatrical director build a house, and the two men became friends--"some foreign worker from Poland began to work there, a friend and comrade finished it." And many similar stores. This was nothing objectionable, because "working emigration" (emigracja zarobkowa)--in the official description of the phenomenon--was a profitable matter from various aspects:

"The tendency of young people to travel to the West to work took off in the early 1970's. It achieved its climax in 1981. The huge department stores in Cologne, Nuremberg or Munich felt like home. The Polish language drowned the languages of other guest workers and natives. Poles were popular: They worked hard and well. They were punctual and handy. The proverbial idleness and apathy had disappeared. We beat everybody else with respect to our eagerness to work--I know that sounds most unlikely (...) Many people here set all<sup>2</sup> their hopes in the expectation that they may once again be able to 'hop' across."

For the foreseeable future this 'hop' will have to be very short indeed and end not in the "West" but, at best, a few kilometers westward, in the GDR. Even that may not be a matter to be despised by a Pole: The GDR has the highest per capita income of the "socialist" countries, and in Polish eyes its economy looks reassuringly stable, although Poles are well aware of the growing raw material and energy problems of the neighboring country.<sup>3</sup> At the same time they see what it is that helps along the GDR and its economy--its specialization, its general status in CEMA, its de facto links with the FRG and, via the FRG, with the European Community, and so on.<sup>4</sup>

Most of all, though, Poles look at the GDR economy and observe "that market mechanisms do not have much significance in the GDR. The emphasis of the economic system is on direct management, using modern technology including a computer system, and the central balancing of basic raw materials and products":

This system works better than the Polish economic system but does have its own weaknesses. In early 1983, for example, it was found "that in recent months the supply of essential items had worsened by comparison with the supply in spring: Meat and sausages as well as imported consumer goods are scarce and will remain so for a considerable time to come."<sup>5</sup>

Another quite different problem is the fact that Poles do not like the GDR--the less so, the younger and more sophisticated they are. In summer 1982 the respected Warsaw weekly POLITYKA printed an interview with students of the German language in Torun; this showed them as less than enthusiastic about the country on the other bank of the Oder: "It is a boring country, full of uniformly dressed and uniformly thinking people." The remarks of the young people ("I remember that I was once described as a 'Polack'") aroused some excitement,<sup>7</sup> although they were far more reserved in their descriptions of the GDR than a Protestant cleric who reported in autumn 1979 on the "synod of Protestant Churches in the GDR":

"For example, not even the attempt has been made in our country to deal with a mentality that I now find intolerable--either still or again. People talk of Polacks as if nothing had ever happened, they discriminate in an intolerable manner against citizens of the People's Republic of Poland, wherever they work. I still remember a young girl who wished to bear the child of and marry a worker of another nationality, who was trained in our country. She sat before me, crying and telling me: 'I cannot stay here with my man, because they treat us like dirt here.' Not in the Federal Republic, in the German Democratic Republic. Because nobody has ever dealt with the mentality that resulted in the Crystal Night, was rooted in arrogance (...) toward other nations and is palpable even now and, it seems to me, more so than before when I observe--with bitterness and shame--the behavior of vacationers from this country in Poland, Czechoslovakia and other East European countries."<sup>8</sup>

Discrimination against Poles in the GDR "where they work." Poles have long worked in the GDR, the legal bases were established by the "treaty on the two countries' cooperation in the field of social policy" of 13 July 1957. Things got really going only in the early 1970's, when the 1971 CEMA Complex Program approved "various kinds of the exchange of manpower"--delegates abroad to fulfill specific work contracts, participation in international economic organizations, the hiring of native staffs in their own country by foreign enterprises, the hiring of foreign staff by domestic enterprises. Analogously various types of manpower exchange are current between the GDR and Poland--to a certain extent there are or were four types of Polish "guest workers" in the GDR: Long-term temporary workers, bordercrossing commuters, "seasonal workers" for jobs lasting 3 months, and individual labor contracts requiring the approval of the Polish Ministry for Labor, Wages and Social Affairs in each individual instance. The latter are very rare indeed--in May 1973, for example, the ministry issued a permit to the 18-year old son of a Cracow optician who had earned his skilled worker's certificate at Zeiss-Jena in 1932, so that the son could go to Jena like his father before him. Though all four types were carefully negotiated between Warsaw and East Berlin and are legally guaranteed, the entire business is surrounded by a remarkable aura of coyness: One country needs workers, another one has too many--therefore they exchange. However, that is just what these two do not want to admit; any analogy with Western "guest worker" usages is to be strictly avoided. Consequently other reasons are offered:

"The Polish side (...) considers it a type of economic cooperation that is part and parcel of aid for a socialist fraternal neighbor in need of workers. At the same time the Polish side considers this type of economic aid for the GDR a means of obtaining or raising the professional skills of Polish workers, mainly young people."<sup>9</sup>

In the early 1970's, coyness assumed almost grotesque dimensions. When the borders between Poland and the GDR were "opened," a conference of experts met in November 1973--severn Germans, thirteen Poles--to discuss "some legal problems involved in the opening of the border." At that time the problem of Polish workers in the GDR was also mentioned, and Maria Matey, a lawyer specializing in these issues, presented the Polish standpoint, "that, within the framework of economic aid for the socialist neighbor, the People's Republic of Poland allows a certain extent and type of "temporary" and "border commuting" work by Polish citizens in GDR jobs. Unfortunately it turned out in the course of the discussion that the situation was not yet "ripe" for such an exchange, because CEMA integration as a whole was still in its infancy. Consequently an exhaustive catalogue of scientific tasks was programmed, including the "observation of the problems of West European integration in this field--for the purpose of comparison."<sup>10</sup>

In fact the entire affair was initially a prime example of the little thought usually devoted in Eastern Europe to the categories of economic rationality and of the persistent strength of the various countries' traditional exclusiveness against one another (and the consequent "vigilance" of the security agencies) .

The dilemma arose between real necessities and ideologically motivated reservations. The GDR needed manpower and got it--in 1973 some 50,000 from Hungary, Poland, and so on--treated the workers well, skillfully planned their deployment and gathered excellent experiences.<sup>11</sup> However, objections arose, reflected in three worried questions about "international socialist labor conditions" (this is the GDR's terminology, following an initial attempt to use "guest working people"): Is

international manpower emigration in fact qualitatively different from manpower emigration between "capitalist" countries--since the latter were for so long described as a kind of refined kidnapping and national brain drain?<sup>12</sup> Does not "the exchange of manpower" largely affect the respective national planning systems and national sovereignty in the field of manpower distribution?<sup>13</sup> And, lastly, how will the people involved get on together? Will common work on the job "deepen the feeling of community and the concept (...) of being a patriot in the home country and, at the same time, a member of the great community of socialist countries ranging from the Elbe to the Pacific? Or will there be conflicts, "because differences persisting between the socialist countries with regard to the economic development standard, national traditions and habits as well as historico-cultural or geographic special features will continue to affect the common living and working of working people from the socialist countries."<sup>14</sup>

This dilemma was soon resolved by fate: When, in late 1977, Polish and GDR experts met for another discussion, they were able only to state the fact that events had overtaken all but strictly economic objections: The manpower shortage in the GDR had grown even more acute, in Poland the interim economic boom of the Gierek era had been replaced by permanent depression--consequently the concern was no longer just to legitimate the manpower exchange but simply to expand and deepen it. The GDR frankly admitted "that our enterprises are interest in the longest possible employment period for the staff" so that "skilled and aware permanent labor forces may evolve." It only remained to the exports to note "that the basic feature of Polish and German agreements in the field of labor law is the wish for durable and stable terms of work," and that they had merely to deal with "problems of the second rank," such as precautionary measures with regard to unduly hasty dismissals.<sup>15</sup>

Just because a mutually satisfactory solution was found for a problem plaguing both parties, the entire affair looks like a veritable image of peace from the very start to the present day: Whatever happened between Poland and the GDR in the past 10 years, from hidden hostilities to open incitement against the Polish "renewal" after 1980, from the closure of the "peace border" by the GDR to customs agents' harassment of Polish travelers to the West--none of this had the slightest effect on the employment of Poles in the GDR. This peace still persists--because the Sejm, Poland's Parliament, was compelled in early February 1983 to enact the formal resolution "to improve relations with the GDR and other socialist countries," thereby providing evidence of the painstakingly suppressed hostility on the two banks of the Oder.<sup>16</sup>

When we look back on the history of the Polish-German exchange of manpower, the actual beginning appears fixed on 17 March 1955: At that time the labor ministries of the two countries agreed that Polish workers from districts near the border should be allowed to take jobs in GDR enterprises located in GDR border districts. This kind of manpower exchange had existed even earlier, albeit in very modest dimensions, and border crossing workers never assumed much importance. In 1974 this kind of work involved 1,800 women from Wroclaw district and 1,800 from Zielona Gora "who daily travel to work in border communities of the GDR" and are employed in textile factories, machine construction, the retail trade and restaurants. The respective labor contracts were concluded with special offices in Poland but acquired validity only upon signature by the GDR employer. They were concluded for an indeterminate period, and the GDR obligated itself to make available to the Polish labor force "on the job

training" and "the improvement of skills." Until 1973, 30 percent of the wages were paid in marks, 70 percent in zlotys, later only payment was in marks only. "The agencies of the two countries endeavor to concentrate Polish border crossing workers in larger groups--because, on the one hand, they are usually rather unskilled and non-German speaking, and on the other the Polish groups had and have the right to elect a spokesperson who may negotiate with GDR organs on their behalf."<sup>17</sup>

More important in every respect is the so-called "period" work (praca "czasowa") of Poles in the GDR. Its legal basis is provided by a protocol and a treaty, both concluded on 18 October 1973 by the two countries' ministries of labor. These documents initially decide the recruitment procedure--both ministries ascertain the annual demand for Polish workers and determine the various occupations and the enterprises that will employ them. All the rest is dealt with by the Poles alone, that is the final selection of candidates who, normally, must be 18 and have completed occupational training. The eventual labor contract--drawn up in both German and Polish--obligates the employee to, for example, take German language courses provided free of charge. The GDR, for its part, obligates itself "to guarantee every opportunity for improving skills and making other kinds of training available," and it ensures that the future personnel is instructed about safety rules, enterprise hygiene, the order of operations, and so on, in the Polish language.

All this must happen before the Polish employee has ever set foot on German soil. According to the contract he must remain in the GDR for 3 years. In 1973 this applied to only 7,500 people, 80 percent males below the age of 30 and graduates of the so-called "basic occupational schools," the lowest grade of Polish vocational training.<sup>18</sup> All German-Polish agreements in this field assume the principle of absolute equality of treatment for German and Polish workers. This is very good for the Poles because working hours in the GDR are regulated more advantageously for the employee than they are in Poland. Furthermore the Poles are subject to some special provisions that arise from their status as foreign citizens--22 July, for example, the Polish national holiday is a paid holiday for them in the GDR also. Moreover there are travel concessions: After 1971 the enterprise paid for one trip home per year (with a return ticket to the job); since 1973 one trip per quarter is paid for; in the case of any other travel, the respective days off must be "worked in advance." At the beginning of vacations they get two paid holidays and, since 1973, Polish workers earn "separation money" for each day spent in the GDR--the latter is admitted to be a "means for reinforcing work discipline" (srodek umacniania dyscypliny pracy): An employee absent without excuse once a month loses half this money, anyone absent 2 days loses the lot. Some of the earnings may be transferred to Poland, and the GDR has issued special regulations to that effect. Also strictly regulated are all matters concerning accommodation, and so on: The concentration of Poles in large groups--since 1973 GDR enterprises may hire Polish workers in groups only, with each group having a minimum of 100 members (earlier 50 were enough)--is justified by the explanation that these people are young and inexperienced beginners in a foreign country. For every 100 Poles a full-time "instructor" is hired, and formerly each group had a section of the "Socialist Youth Association."<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, "seasonal work" by Poles in the GDR is now no more than a memory. It was agreed on 6 July 1972 by the respective labor ministries, but it seems that the agreement was merely tentative. It applied for only 1 year and was not renewed in 1973. It stated that citizens of the one country may accept nonindustrial work in the other for a period of 3 months, provided they are at that time not gainfully employed housewives or pensioners or vacationing students.<sup>20</sup>

However much detail went into the legal framework for Polish workers in the GDR, neither country gave much publicity to the actual jobs and their location. In fact it was quite unusual for a German-Polish cooperative publication of 1974 to include the following:

"For the past 2 years, 80 girls from Poland have been working in the large Zittau textile combine. The personnel there already consider them members of the many "enterprise families" and among the best workers. Such views are not exceptional. Excellent marks are also given the work of Polish specialists working in the Buna and Leuna chemical enterprises near Merseburg as well as that of builders involved in the construction of the GDR's most modern combine for china, technical glass, laboratory equipment and production material in Ilmenau. The city fathers and young people often ask the Polish workers for help. In addition to some urgent work the Polish working people carried out for the city, they used their leisure to construct two swimming pools and some sports facilities for the sake of Polish-German friendship. This friendship also results in the establishment of quite personal sympathies, reflected in eight Polish-German marriages."<sup>21</sup>

That was in 1974, and although in subsequent years the general GDR attitude to Poland and the Poles deteriorated drastically, the numbers of Polish workers in the GDR had risen to more than 10,000 by the beginning of the 1980's.<sup>22</sup> To these we must add the Polish students in the GDR who totaled 490 in 1970, 110 of them in Leipzig, 100 in Dresden. A "refuge for the Poles" were the centers for information and Polish culture" (Osrodk Informacji i Kultury Polskiej, OIKP) in Berlin and Leipzig.<sup>23</sup> In spring 1983, 325 Polish students were enrolled in 7 universities and 21 disciplines; in addition there were 47 doctoral candidates and 6 university instructors. That is slightly less than before, but even now the Poles are second only to the Soviets among the foreign students in the GDR. They are generally well prepared for their future specialty, though this is only relatively important at GDR universities. "In the GDR actually (...) the most important subject matter of all academic disciplines is represented by the social sciences. Native students are familiar with this from their secondary schools and have little difficulty. Ours, however (...) are all deplorably deficient in this branch of knowledge." The shelter and retreat for Polish students are the "Polish Clubs" currently operating in Leipzig, Ilmenau, Dresden, Magdeburg and Rostock; another club is soon to be established in East Berlin, where students from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria already have their own "clubs." It is not known what exactly the young Poles are studying, but the general trend may be estimated from the location of the universities: Primarily they are likely to attend technical disciplines. Ilmenau and Magdeburg have only technical high schools, Leipzig and Dresden have them also, while Rostock is the home of the Wilhelm Pieck University.<sup>24</sup>

The "1980 Polish summer" caused a great deal of agitation in Poland itself, nothing like it among the Poles in the GDR. The people most surprised by this were at the GDR Ministry for State Security, where someone certain to know surreptitiously admitted: "Our security people were scared witless--but nothing happened, no branches of Solidarity, no insignia, nothing, everything remained perfectly calm." And because of this, on 12 December 1981, a few hours before the "state of war" was declared in Poland, a German-Polish meeting took place. The subsequent Polish report ran as follows:

"Antoni Rajkiewicz, minister for labor, wages and social affairs, concluded a 3-day visit to the GDR, where he conducted talks with Wolfgang Beyreuther, state secretary for labor and wage issues, and was also received by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. Ministers Rajkiewicz and Beyreuther signed a government and departmental agreement concerning continuing cooperation in the field of employment as well as the working conditions of persons delegated to work in GDR productive enterprises."<sup>25</sup>

Life went on, untouched by the "state of war" or anything else. A correspondent of the party organ TRYBUNA LUDU found almost an idyll in Frankfurt/Oder in August 1982: "For years many Poles have been employed in factories of Frankfurt Bezirk, that suffer from manpower shortages. They are mostly young people. The common accomplishment of tasks encourages friendships and, quite frequently, multinational mixed marriages. Hundreds of young families made up of Poles and GDR residents (setki młodych polsko-NRD-owskich rodzin), domiciled on the two banks of the Oder--that is a new phenomenon in the history of our peoples. A young sales clerk in Frankfurt confided that she is friendly with a young man from Zielona Gora and waiting impatiently for the current restrictions of tourism between the People's Republic of Poland and the GDR to be lifted, because this would allow them to meet more often."<sup>26</sup>

Another Polish correspondent reported in February 1983 that the daily life of Polish employees in the GDR was not quite so idyllic. "Almost 20,000 Poles" are there said to be working now in the GDR--border crossing commuters, construction workers, industrial workers, commercial employees, and so on. In contrast to earlier years, their contracts now run for 4 years, and it seems that employment in the GDR is tantamount to a last chance for many youths: The East Berlin "Progress" clothing combine, for example, employs 200 young Polish workers, all graduates of a general educational secondary school in their home town of Bialystok; they are now being retrained in East Berlin as seamstresses, packers, and so on. This training takes 3 months, and the girls are guaranteed a minimum wage of M400 during that time. Considering the cheap cafeteria meals and accommodation in a special workers' dormitory, this amount is adequate for all needs, especially because initially the girls have little leisure. Three times a week they are also given an hour's instruction in German, right in the dormitory.

Later they get more--"in particular because the Polish women earn a little more than their German fellow workers." Including piecework and separation money (M120 per month) they get to about M900 gross each month--"evidently light industry is not among the most highly paid industries in the GDR." They work a 5-day week--"once a month the employees are entitled to return home, once a quarter at enterprise expense." The girls go home frequently, each time carrying many goods from the rich GDR to poor Poland, and "GDR customs tend to turn a blind eye, albeit within certain limits." Those who do not go home, have an opportunity in the dormitory to participate in many entertainments and in sports. Married people "have a right to a room of their own," but children are not acceptable: "The employee must have her child taken care of back home or interrupt her work in the GDR."

All in all--superficially unchanged conditions, the same as 10 years ago. However, when we take a closer look (as the Polish correspondent did), doubts and even some bitterness tend to surface: "Girls from Bialystok, for example, are recruited for

work in the Berlin clothing combine, though it is obvious rightaway that not all of them will be able to find a job in their profession when they return home 4 years later. Another issue causing doubts--in fact even more so--is the dispatch of technicians or engineers to work in the GDR where it may easily happen that they land in unskilled jobs. There is also recruitment for primitive manual labor that is evidently not going to involve any occupational training."<sup>27</sup>

These phrases suggest a future problem. Most of all they indicate that the old official coyness persists--the Pole who works in the GDR is not, for heaven's sake, to be considered a kind of "socialist guest worker" but trainee, assistant, vocational student, and so on, who will be rewarded for even the most elementary training by a certificate "honored" in both countries. Unfortunately, Poland and the GDR are no longer at their respective 1973 levels; the GDR has at least preserved if not improved its standards, while Poland admits to be in a serious crisis, and nobody now knows when it will end. One aspect of this crisis--the educational aspirations of young people, aroused at the time of excessively ambitious "scientific-technological" optimism, who can see few ways of realizing them in the Polish reality of 1983--is very evident among the Polish labor force in the GDR: 20,000 workers abroad are not many--20,000 frustrated young intellectuals, compelled to leave the academic marshal's staff in their knapsacks and instead made to begin an East Berlin "career" as stitchers or packers, are definitely going to be a problem.

At the same time it is quite conceivable that the GDR is somewhat worried about its employees with Polish passports. The way it pays, accommodates and treats them--all this shows that it puts the Poles into a not exactly golden but certainly gilded cage, because it needs the manpower but wishes to minimize contacts with its own population. And it might easily happen that the GDR will have to learn the same lesson as the West Germans: Workers are recruited--people come.\*

#### FOOTNOTES

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5. Jerzy Kleer, "Letters from the GDR--Big is Beautiful," POLITYKA No 2, 8 January 1983, p 15.
6. See the German translation "Young Poles Experience the GDR," INFORMATIONSDIENST DES KATHOLISCHEN ARBEITERKRIESES FUER ZEITGESCHICHTLICHE FRAGEN No 116/1982, pp 1-7. See also Siegfried Lemmich's article in this issue, pp 1092ff.
7. See Readers' Letters, POLITYKA No 25, 7 August 1982.
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17. Matey, "Working Conditions...," as before (note 9), p 107.
18. For the details of the Polish professional educational system see Wolf Oschlies, "Problems of Choosing a Profession and Professional Education in 'Real Socialism'--Taking the Example of Poland," in Lothar Beinke (editor), "Berufsbildung, Berufswahl, Berufsweg" */Professional Training, Choice of Profession, Career/*, Weil der Stadt 1982, pp 138-192.
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25. See SPRAWY MEDZYNARODOWE No 1//2/1982, p 166,
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\* In this context let me point out a GDR "special action in summer 1983. It invited 100,000 young Poles to spend their vacations in the GDR and to do 10 days' work in jobs that "are beneficial to young people and need no special skills." For a detailed comment see Wolf Oschlies, "Combining Pleasure with Usefulness... 100,000 Young Poles as Unskilled Workers in the GDR," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV No 7/ 1983, pp 691-692.

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CSO: 2300/82

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PEOPLE'S NAVY COMMANDER URGES INCREASED COMBAT READINESS

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 33, 1983 (signed to press 8 Aug 83) p 3

[Article by Adm Wilhelm Ehm, member SED Central Committee, deputy minister for national defense and chief, People's Navy: "Most Important Task: Struggle for a High State of Combat Readiness"]

[Text] The Politburo report to the sixth SED Central Committee plenum asserted that the National People's Army has met the political and military requirements in every way and that the cooperation with the Soviet armed forces and the other fraternal socialist armies has been proceeding successfully.

Wholly in this sense, the efforts of all members of the People's Navy are aimed at keeping its combat readiness on the appropriate level through firm class comradeship and comradeship in arms with the Baltic Fleet of the USSR and the Polish Navy so that also in the Baltic the most aggressive imperialist circles can achieve no military superiority and find their adventurous designs frustrated.

While NATO, mainly the United States, further develops the provocative presence of its naval aircraft in the Baltic as a menacing power instrument, it extends its military presence also in this maritime region up to the borders of the socialist states and increases tensions in the Baltic region. It is the result of the high combat readiness especially of the units of the People's Navy, the Baltic Fleet of the USSR and the Polish Navy in their integrated combat service that the enemy is firmly under control at every hour and location. That is a service that provides many experiences for conscious political action, solid military skill, firm discipline and reliable collaboration with our comrades in arms at sea. These experiences are a valuable element of the process of everyday education and training in the People's Navy.



Adm Wilhelm Ehm

## A Higher Grade and Greater Effectiveness of Political-Ideological Work

The assessments of the sixth Central Committee session, made on the threshold to the second half of the training year, induce us, in view of the tense international situation, to use all mental and material potentials purposely for ensuring our necessary combat readiness while having our enemy face everywhere how hopeless his adventurous policy is. That also assigns a great responsibility to the People's Navy. What matters, after all, is to apply higher criteria to the political awareness, military expertise and specialized technical skills of all sailors, NCO's, warrant officers and officers and better to enable the personnel to take command and creatively apply the latest data of military science and warfare.

Those are highly relevant criteria that determine our combat readiness, and which were presented so unequivocally in the materials of the 12th delegates conference of the SED organizations in the NVA and the GDR border troops. In the party election period ahead, one will have to account for how they have been and are being realized. In the party organizations of the People's Navy the communists are preparing for it through vivid political-ideological efforts. Here they proceed from the firm conviction--e.g. at the Berlin--Capital of the GDR coastal patrol boat--that their struggle for high combat readiness conforms to the class mission the 10th SED Congress has assigned to the armed forces. The comrades regard their persistent striving for high achievements in political and combat training and in combat service, in view of the increased dangers to humanity emanating from imperialism, as a firm component of the GDR's peace strategy. Not only the meaning and criterion of their political and military efforts in general is what the communists, primarily the comrades in command functions, find in a constantly high combat readiness, they find in it also the most important effort of their party work. Party work is primarily political-ideological work with the people. They therefore keep close to combat readiness, as it shapes the soldiers' readiness for combat and for a full personal dedication to fulfilling all tasks. The enemy has no greater fear of rockets, torpedoes and projectiles than of a soldier acting in class consciousness who is willing and able to use the modern combat equipment socialist society has entrusted to him effectively.

As in the speedboat troop component Fechner, through drawing inferences from the sixth Central Committee session, many party collectives in the People's Navy have come to this conclusion: A profound understanding of party policy and clarity about the imperialist enemy's aggressive nature are first-rate prerequisites for ensuring a constant high combat readiness. Our agitprop must therefore waste no opportunity to provide persuasive answers to the many questions which our era of dynamic confrontation between reaction and progress has raised on a global scale. So we form motivation and develop creativeness to meet all requirements that determine our combat readiness. And here precisely are the reasons why in recent weeks all crews, units and troop components of the People's Navy could demonstrate, through various test situations, a high state of training, as the backbone of combat readiness, through rigid organization, purposeful preparation and combat-simulating conditions. At the end of the first half year of training those collectives have increased their combat readiness the most where party organizations constantly dealt with preparing their fighters for modern combat politically, morally and psychologically.

Advances have been made to the extent that the communists dedicated themselves to turning the criteria for the most advanced into general acceptance, taking the achievements of today for the starting position for tomorrow and, mainly, making the experiences of the Baltic Fleet of the USSR the guideline for their own action.

#### Comparing Performance, Using Experience, Gaining Fighting Strength Through Socialist Competition

In the struggle for high combat readiness, all forms of socialist competition play a predominant role. To be sure, in view of new criteria--especially for rating the movement of the best--which were adapted to the requirements for combat readiness, not all the wishes and goals and projects of many comrades and collectives have been achieved. Yet competition without tough struggle for top achievements is inconceivable. It is especially this conscious struggle that has to be turned into a broader mass movement. That it is possible to achieve high goals was proven by the crew of the competition initiator in the People's Navy, the Eisenhuettenstadt landing craft. It met all self-assumed obligations. The boat got the best achievement medal it sought and so did three combat sectors and 16 sailors, NCO's and officers. Fine success was achieved in comparing the sailors' ordinary achievements throughout the day. Seeking the title of "master of norms" has obtained a high place value. How this directly affects an increase in fighting strength and combat readiness was shown by the crew of the Rostock coastal patrol boat. There many comrades earned that master title, from the commander down to the second mate. That boat is among the most efficient in the People's Navy. Among the successes one must also include that comrades of the People's Navy themselves suggested many reductions of characteristics, 20 of them by the Roedel formation alone. The movement pursuing a "combat station of high reliability" has gained in range on all ships and boats. Especially in view of the intricate modern equipment and arms and of the growing importance of coordinated operations in the combat collective, the reliability of each combat station decides the fulfilment of the combat mission and the ship's stability.

"Sponsors, Partners and Potentials" is the name of a youth initiative which keeps proving its mettle. Decisive for the level of combat readiness is indeed how fast even the most recently assigned sailor gets to know his ship from stern to bow, from the keel to the masthead. And it depends on the military and nautical skill of all the comrades how fast the situation at sea is grasped, so that the correct decision is made, action is taken fast and flexibly, initiative is gained and the target is destroyed by the first burst of fire.

The resolutions from the sixth session of the SED Central Committee also point the way to the members of the People's Navy and give them new strength for fulfilling the tasks of the second half of the training year at high quality. They are aware here of the greater responsibility of the socialist armed forces, the high combat readiness of which constitutes a significant pledge in the historic class struggle between the forces of peace and war, socialism and imperialism, progress and reaction.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MILITARY INDOCTRINATION OF SCHOOL CHILDREN DETAILED

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German 23 Sep 83 p 5

Article by Bardo Fassbender: "I Drive a Tank, ra-ta-ta-ta; Military Education in the GDR--Examples from Everyday Life; Socialist Militarism Doesn't Even Spare Preschoolers"

Text "When I grow up, I'll join the People's Army. I drive a tank, ra-ta-ta, ra-ta-ta, I drive a tank, ra-ta-ta, ta-ta-ta. I load the cannon, rumbumbum, rumbumbum, I load the cannon, rumbumbum, rumbumbum. When I grow up, I'll join the People's Army..."

Children in GDR kindergartens are singing this song. "During the first eight bars the children march around in a circle like 'soldiers.' In the middle section, the previously appointed 'tank driver' ('artilleryman') goes to the center of the circle and sings solo. While doing so, he performs gestures expressed in the text. At the end, all children imitate the gestures demonstrated," according to the instructions printed below the lyrics.

The following song, "Soldiers," is also devoted to the objective of "... initiating in children...feelings of solidarity...with members of the armed forces," according to the GDR Ministry for Public Education's "Kindergarten Training and Education Plan."

"When I hear the soldiers sing/I drop my toys/I run into the street/I must see the soldiers! They sing happy songs/I stand at attention and salute them./And the captain returns my salute/in front of the entire company./ Our soldiers protect/all children from war/my daddy, my mommy/every house and the factory./ Also the new kindergarten,/my beautiful Teddy bear,/our dear little black cat,/all that they protect with their guns."

Joyful Defense of Socialism

Another song intended for preschoolers is called "the Soldier's Cap:"

"My big brother is visiting today!/Look over there, on the window knob/he has hung his cap./I'll put it on.

My brother wears the uniform./He is a soldier now,/who protects our kindergarten/and our whole town.

The cap is still too big for me/the jacket much too heavy./When I grow up/I'll be a soldier, just like him."

Every 2 weeks the childrens' journal BUMMI addresses preschool children. In stories involving Bummi the Bear, the journal's hero and central figure, soldiers of the National People's Army are shown to possess positive attributes such as courage, eagerness to learn, class consciousness and discipline. Poems such as the one shown below, published in BUMMI, are meant to demonstrate the young readers' readiness later on to gladly defend the GDR's socialist accomplishments:

"Thank you, soldiers,/for protecting, day and night/the cities and towns of our country.

You also protect our lives/and beds and toy chests/and also the kindergarten/with its tables, chairs and benches.

Take, dear courageous friends/the bouquet of flowers as a sign of our gratitude!/Best regards too/from our parents at home."

The childrens' book "Sleeping Beauty in the Pine Forest," intended for children 5 years and older, contains, apart from a listing of service ranks, military routines and weapon systems, information about Big Brother:

"They have a red star/it blows on their caps,/they help protect/our homeland from its enemies.

Who those friends are/is easy for you to guess,/you surely know them well:/ they are the Soviet soldiers."

In "Mrs Sun Strolls Through Our Town" (6 years and older), brotherhood in arms under the Red flag is a subject also:

"Fighters of the Soviet army/are entering the avenue./Shirts tight fitting, eyes asparkle./'Drushba!, Mir!' the crowd is waving./Alex hums along with the melody/and marches alongside...The May sun glows more warmly./The grandstand is closer now/activists, communists/FDJ members, People's Army members/massed colors pass in review/bearing the party insignia./Rows of people everywhere,/old and young--a solid wall."

Military indoctrination is an obligatory component of the curricula for all grades, not only for 9th and 10th grades, which in February 1978 were given a separate teaching subject, "Military Instruction."

Margot Honecker, Minister for Public Education, has said that "we consider it our duty to motivate our youth toward expending all its energies for the fatherland so that it will be capable and ready to protect and defend our German Democratic Republic in a reliable manner." This is reflected also in the textbooks:

"Hans-Juergen at the guard-post/says to the soldiers:/'What are you doing here day-in and day-out?'" /"I'm a soldier of the People's Army./Go ahead, play and laugh!/I'm standing here in wind and snow/standing guard over you!" This can be found in the second-grade textbook. Elsewhere in the same book we read this:

"Peter and Paul race to the creek. Tanks have stopped there. Who is smiling at them from the turret? It is a tank soldier. Peter says, what kind of wheels does the tank have? The soldier says, these are tracks. Watch out! Get out of the way! Already the tanks are rumbling and grinding on. Peter and Paul shout: Tomorrow we'll be tank soldiers too."

The "Criminals and Fascists from the PRG"

"Once every year we give special thanks to our soldiers for protecting our country. Find the date and the name of that special day in your calendar and write a sentence about it!" Also: "Tell what you know about our army's friendship with the armies of our socialist fraternal countries!"---these are typical assignments given to 8-year olds.

In "Our Primer for the First Grade" we find a "letter from soldier Heinz:"

"Dear Klaus, thank you and the other scouts for your letter. Do you know something? Your camp is very close to ours. Come and visit us one of these days! It is good to know that you have all learned a lot. You really deserve your trip to scout camp. Keep up the good work! Keep working for the cause of peace! Ask your parents and your teachers what you can do already to help! Our service is hard work. But we are glad to do it so you can study and play in peace. No enemy should dare to attack our German Democratic Republic. Best regards to you and the other scouts, your soldier Heinz."

Many stories describe the friendly, child-loving NVA-soldier who, along with the "Soviet brothers in arms," protects the GDR and its citizens on the "Western border" against the "criminals and fascists from the FRG" and the "U.S. imperialists."

"I take a look at the suntanned, resolute faces of the two comrades next to me. They and all the other border soldiers of our National People's Army know that they are engaged in a good and just cause. If peace has been maintained until now, they can take partial credit for it. They are on guard at all hours for us and our republic. They make sure that no enemy invades our land and disturbs our peaceful development." This is the end of the story "On Guard for Peace" which tells about a visit to the "national border" in Berlin (4th grade reader).

Themes of this sort form the content even of dictation and math exercises:

"On the first day, a 2,000 km military convoy covers 500 km. The rest of the trip is to take five days, covering the same distance each day. How many kilometers must the convoy travel each day?"

Or this: "Out of 54 soldiers in one unit, 12 have won the sharpshooters' medal. How many collectives of this unit are still vying for this honor, if each collective has 6 soldiers?" These are two of the questions, with appropriate illustrations, in the 3rd grade mathematics textbook.

Instructions to mathematics teachers contain this: "Use will be made of examples illustrating the use of mathematics in the military so as to make the students understand that mathematical and natural sciences insights in the service of a socialist state serve the preservation of peace; that, however, the same insights are misused for aggressive purposes by the governments of imperialist states."

Hatred of the class enemy across the state border is a continuous subject of indoctrination according to the guideline "we hate imperialism, the enemy of socialism and peace." This can be found in the FDJ newspaper JUNGE GENERATION.

Writes Professor Joachim-R. Groth in DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV: "The negative concept of the Western agent has a multiple function in the childrens' literature and in the overall GDR literature: it serves as a personification of the viciousness of the system in whose behalf the agent works. Additionally, it serves as a challenge and a stimulus for socialist vigilance toward anything that is suspect, anything that does not coincide with the societal norm. And finally, the agent serves as a warning and a deterrent for the reader against engaging in any activities which would bring him into conflict with socialist laws and thus expose him to the accusation of being himself a henchman of the West."

#### Sticking Pins Into Toy Soldiers

In the childrens' book "Our National People's Army" (for 12-year olds and over), we find this under the heading: "The Enemy at our Border:" "At the state borders with the FRG and West Berlin our border troops are face to face with the class enemy and thus are engaged in the forefront of the class struggle. Never mind whether the enemies of our workers' and peasants' state display open brutality or veiled anti-communist activities toward them. The enemy is forever trying to create unrest at the border by using a variety of methods..."

GDR writer Reiner Kunze has written this:

#### "The Six-Year Old

He sticks pins into toy soldiers. He sticks them into their bellies until the point comes out of their backs. He sticks them into their backs until the point comes out of their chests. They fall down. 'And why just those?' 'Because those are the others!'"

A strong image of the enemy for the six-year old.

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NEW STRESS ON INDIVIDUALITY IN SOCIALIST EDUCATION

East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG in German No 41, 14 Oct 83 p 5

[Article by Dr. Edgar Drefenstedt, Director, Institute for Pedagogic Theory, GDR Academy of Pedagogic Sciences: "On the Value of Individual Characteristics"]

[Text] How familiar are we with our students? That question has come up for debate under various aspects. Knowing our students well, after all, is one of the prerequisites for high-grade pedagogic work. A greater concern for the individual student has to do with taking account of individual characteristics and of making use of them for the sake of personality development.

What Do We Mean by That?

Individual characteristics are partly genetic; that applies mainly to physical characteristics and manifestations, basic modes of reaction (temperament) and general character, action and conduct dispositions. In the process of personality development on that basis (mainly under the influence of the social environment and education) characteristics become more pronounced through what individuals themselves do, and they then manifest themselves in the shaping of individuality. Individuality in turn expresses the individual (original) ways and means through which the individual develops into and expresses himself as a unique personality, and we as socialist pedagogues seek to shape in each the general socialist personality qualities in individual variations.

Individual characteristics are shown in psychological characteristics and potentials (sensitivity, imagination, thinking, memory, attention, volition, feeling, temperament, character), in the type and mode of activity (areas of activity, style of action, motives, needs, interests), in social relations, public activity and focus, and in the particular suitability for one task or another.

In the current debate on making more of individual characteristics, two trends are becoming ever more pronounced:

First, the shaping of the developed socialist society calls for more people with basic characteristics such as a fine education, ideological clarity, a sense of responsibility, love for work, reliability and other things, who then also have quite specific performance potentials (e.g. a developed sense of design, an inventive spirit, practical skills, a strong empathetic capacity, organizational

skills, a gift for communication and many other things, again more specialized ones among them). An individual character that can and is being formed in above-average performance prerequisites is as important for society, for a genuine collective and, of course, also for the self-realization of the individual as are solid basic socialist traits. Both sides belong together.

Second, more and more we are surmounting conceptions which attribute individual characteristics more to phenomena, conduct and notoriety, discovering them only where the seemingly uniform process is disturbed, broken or delayed or confused by individuals. We must penetrate more to the essence and correctly assess appearances and must react to and affect characteristics in our pedagogic work in such a way that they become genuine characteristic features of fully developed individualities. There one may to some extent ignore much that is external, much that is a tribute to age-related fashions, phenomena playing a temporary and still unstructured role but can be regulated, so as to more strongly affect that which is basic to it all. And a pupil will certainly be amenable to that who is seeking his own individuality (when our pedagogic approach is as cautious as it is firm in principle).

From this it follows that the value of individual characteristics is nothing absolute. What is worthwhile and how it is made worthwhile comes out of the educational process, the process that shapes individuality as the individual variant in socialist personality development. That is why one must look at the phenomenal and the core at once. We must not slight the phenomenal picture, yet the predominant question is the one about the essential features of the young man in the process of formation; on that a pedagogue has to rely and that he must nurture as best he can.

#### From Appearances. to the Essential

Let us outline two different examples:

Andreas: Judgments about him differ, in extremes almost. He is very capable but for his conduct one of the most severely criticized. When he was still in kindergarten for instance, on 8 March he reacted like this: All children had brought along flowers, cards and small gifts. He had forgotten to do so, and his mother, having many children, had not paid attention to that either. But he loved his teacher and would do anything for her. So he gave her a bunch of cyclamens, very pretty and cut neatly from all the flower pots in the building. You can imagine how much trouble that caused. Andreas had trouble understanding why he had turned into "case number one." His motivation had been noble. He is still spontaneous, affective in his reactions, plays the buffoon (especially when others applaud him), often is much too noisy, but he understands his weaknesses more and more and fights against them. Today, 10 years of age, he is in the sport club. Sports challenge and form him. Andreas shows promising talents, mental and physical. He has strong will power and is tenacious, ambitious but happy, affectionate and open-minded. He is ready to tackle any task right on the spot, even the toughest. Actually, he is easily managed except when he is overwhelmed with "sermons," with admonishments about "what all that will come to in the end," when his deficiencies in conduct are censured without noticing or taking into account his nature, his worth, his sense of honor, his very strong intention to be good and do good things. His individual characteristics are malleable and adaptable to discipline. The latter also is accomplished (mainly through Andreas himself) whenever one proceeds from the positive, the essence and core of the growing personality in the process of formation.

Karin: Her individual characteristics were mostly a nuisance in the lower and middle grades. She had trouble with her comprehension, was slow in all her work, seemed all too emotional and actually showed no special gifts. Her ratings stayed the same from first to eighth grade: She has to try harder. But she did try; only there was not enough to her life. That only changed at the end of her schooling, in the upper grades. As an FDJ member, there being a shortage of leaders, she took over a pioneer group (grade one). She changed so much that everyone was amazed. She had no siblings and was under stiff discipline at home. Social contacts were limited (even in school, where she rated as a weak pupil). Now she found a field of activity that accommodated her individual nature completely (which could never before express itself). She gained the love of all the children, showed concern for each and demonstrated talent for communication. The new milieu, where she for the first time occupied the center, no longer was the "shy little dumbbell," but could show what was in her, offered her an action radius social in dimension in which she would develop rapidly. She became more sure of herself, more self-assured, learned differently, and was challenged and respected. She is sure to become a fine lower-grade teacher. Lucky for her, for the children she is going to work with, and for our society. It would have been possible to discover the particular characteristics adaptable to development in her earlier. And a much less favorable development also could have taken place.

Returning from these examples, with their naturally limited evidence, to our position on the "value of individual characteristics," we find: Familiarity with the pupils must include regard for individual differences without underrating though what is universally and generally valid for education and development. Individual characteristics are not fully formed during school age. General and particular features are found in the process in which the individual develops into and as a personality. There is a lot, however, behind the individual characteristics (behind and beyond appearances) that makes the actual potentials for individual development visible in the first place. Relying on potentials facilitates pedagogic work, misperceiving them limits all optimal development, but suppressing them makes things extremely difficult. Personality development demands the shaping of individuality. And the main thing that matter here is to spot and nurture individual gifts, talents, aptitudes. Focusing on the positive, on what may become an inner impulse, makes pedagogic work effective.

And this brings us at once to another question: How does one recognize individual characteristics? Mainly through observing the personality, watching his activity, analyzing the results and studying the social milieu.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SOCIALIST CIVILIZATION: ITS DISCONTENTS PLAGUE YOUTH IN EAST

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 3, 10, 17 Oct 83

[Article by Peter Wensierski and Wolfgang Buescher]

[3 Oct 83 pp 119, 122, 124, 126, 129, 131, 134, 136]

[Text] Sunshine; a lazy Sunday afternoon in the East Berlin district of Prenzlauer Berg. Outside, in front of the "Vienna Coffee House," some people are sitting drinking ice coffee or beer and right in their midst there is a punker with half his hair shaved off and the other half colored green. He is wearing a torn T-shirt with the word "chaos" on it.

3 hours later a few blocks away. The GDR broadcasting system is transmitting a live entertainment show from the "Pratergarten" open-air restaurant. Bourgeois types with trousers with cuffs on them and plastic sunglasses are sitting cheek by jowl with young men wearing dog collars around their neck, their heads shaved—drinking beer. Without moving a muscle, they are watching a band and some go-go girls make an effort to liven things up. A pair of homosexuals is standing by the bandstand, listening to the group play the oldie "Copacabana."

Bourgeois society and the scene—nowhere else inside the SED republic is the contrast between the two as marked as in this district situated on either side of Schoenhauser Allee. The walls of the houses there are not only adorned with graffiti made by soccer fans (like EFC Union) or by rock aficionados (like AC/DC)—there are political overtones as well.

On the rear entrance of the Schoenhauser Allee elevated station, someone has painted the West Berlin house occupiers' slogan: "legal, illegal—who gives a damn!" All the A's have circles around them of course. This peace sign used by the pacifists can be seen on every street corner. One wall of the Gethsemane Church bears the inscription: "Jesus lives—Jesus is green!"

Now and again, official whitewashers are out in force to obliterate the sprayed-on slogans. The "Solidarnosc" logo disappeared from the wall on the Helmholtzplatz after just one day under a coat of white paint. And the wall tiles of the subway station at Luxemburgplatz which have been adorned again and again with environmental and peace slogans have gotten spotty because of all the chemicals used to remove them.

The bourgeois world and the scene try as best they can to stake out their respective territory.

On 13 February 1982, when 5,000 young people met for the first time in the GDR in front of and inside Dresden's Church of the Cross to conduct a peace forum, the older generation got together at the "Prague Caf " across the street from the church to eat cake and drink schnapps and beer and watch a variety show by acrobats and jugglers. Meanwhile, anti-war songs were being sung to guitar accompaniment on the Old Market.

On 9 May 1983, East Berlin's political cabaret "Die Distel" [The Thistle], which the daughter of one party functionary has called "the funhouse of the comrades," had a special program to commemorate the anniversary of the [Nazi] book burnings. There was an easy-going atmosphere: there was a kind of talk show where veterans of the socialist struggle were introduced. The members of the cabaret said hello to the SED functionaries in the audience. There was hardly anyone in the audience who did not wear a party badge.

But if you walked around the block during the intermission, the whole festive atmosphere went down the drain. Just a few feet away from the socialist family festivities, some young man was lugging his heavy portable radio back and forth along the street. He had turned the volume way up and you could hear the message of West German rock singer Udo Lindenberg's song dedicated to SED chief Erich Honecker coming across loud and clear, reverberating from the high walls of Clara Zetkin Strasse: "From time to time you really do put on your leather jacket, don't you Erich, and lock yourself into the toilet to listen to the Western radio stations. Hello, Erich--can you hear me ?"

Unlike their precursors--the hippies and dissidents--the punks, drop-outs and alternatives in the GDR have not retreated into a private corner of small-time protest showmanship. They are going public.

Just about 2 years ago, the first group of East Berlin punks made an appearance. That was in the spring of 1981 when some two dozen skinheads secretly went to a party at the Protestant student center on Invalidenstrasse.

When a VoPo patrol car came cruising by, they quickly hid behind the nearest advertising pillar or behind a bush. A band played punk music at the party. None of those responsible for arranging the event knew very much about it; otherwise the group probably would not have been invited to play there.

Summer 1983 in a Schliemannstrasse backyard in the Prenzlauer Berg district. Things are very much alive this Saturday night. A few hours from now, the "Exemplary Plan Fulfillment" group from Gera is to start playing. In between, an unknown five-man combo is filling in for them. A mound of bulk waste and rubble serves as a kind of stage.

Only some fragments of the words the vocalist wearing welder's goggles is shouting can be understood: "Snow is falling out of gasoline cans over this deadly boring land." The other four always sing along when he gets to the refrain: "That is the fault of our fathers! That is the fault of our fathers!" This keeps up until someone in the audience trips over an amplifier cable and there is no more current.

The GDR broadcasters, too, are beginning to adjust to the new sound in a gingerly fashion. On the youth program, amateur groups are regularly introduced which come up with lyrics like the following: "I am sitting in front of the tube, filling up on schnapps" or "as split up as this age of ours, I walk the narrow line between 'bitterness' and 'never take a risk!'"

By now, the punkers can be seen in public not only in East Berlin areas like Prenzlauer Berg but also in Dresden, in Halle and elsewhere. Bands such as "Keks" [The Cookies] from East Berlin and "Juckkreiz" [The Itch] from Thuringia provide the music. And even if it is only water colors they are able to buy to dye their hair, it is fun just the same. Every HO store and every clothing store is something of a punk shopping paradise.

The fact is that a subculture that affects anti-modern and anti-trendy airs and looks back nostalgically to the kidney-shaped coffee table era need not look far for the proper ambience in that other part of Germany. For the punks, the trip back into the fifties is a short one because the aesthetics of that time are still ever-present in the GDR of our day.

The clothes people wear; the furniture they have in their living rooms; the loud colors of the "Trabant" automobiles; the sterility of the Mitropa restaurants; the detergent packages and the ready-to-eat soup cartons could just as easily have been styled by Western new wave designers. It is all real-life punk existing in socialist Germany today.

For this reason, the West Berlin scene has been making ample use of the deep-frozen fifties next door. On Bleibtreustrasse, shop after shop is full of plastic junk styled after GDR products. The most far-out shop calls itself "Intershop." Rock groups in the western part of the city have taken on names such as "Interzone," "White Russia" or "Leningrad Sandwich" and as for the Wall, it has long since been turned into advertising space for rock concerts and record jackets.

On the far side of the Wall, things are not nearly as funny. Eastern punks who had their photographs published in the West Berlin scene journal TIP and the Hamburg leftwing journal KONKRET wound up in jail. There is no one who will speak up for them. The GDR man-in-the-street has just as little use for today's skinheads as he did for the long-haired youngsters of the sixties.

In a small-sized city in Thuringia of 30,000 inhabitants, a member of the church-affiliated "Junge Gemeinde" [Young Congregation] invited the local group consisting of five punks to his parents' restaurant. When his father, an independent innkeeper, caught sight of two of the skinheads he lost his cool and the two had to leave without as much as getting a drink.

At times, wrought-up citizens tend to take matters into their own hands. And the VoPo's will not come to a punker's aid. It may well be that the officer he turns to is the very one who chased him away from the market place or the pub the day before for exhibiting "asocial behavior."

The transport police are particularly tough on them. In Halle, Potsdam, Leipzig and elsewhere, brightly colored youngsters wearing punk attire were taken into custody. All those wishing to take a trip were kept out of the railroad station and all those arriving were not permitted to leave.

Punkers have an especially hard time of it at school and getting apprenticeships. Teachers and masters not only give them grades on their attitudes but also add lengthy evaluations of their personal traits. And even if one of them decides to wash the green color out of his hair and to take off the dog collar, that evaluation stays in his file throughout his life just the same.

Nonetheless, they will not let them take away the bittersweet feeling of shaking up the public, of running around in their uniformly grey clothing and of poking fun at the state. In their search for a real cool outfit, the punkers have unearthed all the government medals for good students; the pennants for outstanding collective achievements; the small red-and-gold emblems commemorating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and the medals for German-Soviet friendship day. Many GDR punkers display virtually all the decorations of the socialist performance society on their jackets along with anarchist buttons given to them by Western friends; "Sex Pistols" buttons and buttons simply reading: "piss off."

Anyone mocking the state and the FDJ in this fashion will soon find himself at the police precinct. One such interrogation at a Magdeburg police station went as follows:

"How dare you wear these badges ?"

"I got them while I was in the FDJ."

"You are running around in such a derelict state--that amounts to a provocation and a slur on the state and the youth organization."

Young people in the GDR are all-too-familiar with "conversations" of this sort with persons in authority. Anyone who departs from the norm winds up in the meatgrinder.

Young people are subjected to "conversations" of this kind, if they happen to be looking for a place in the expanded secondary school and do not immediately sign up for 3 years of service in the NVA. There are conversations with youth officers; with teachers; with the FDJ leaders at school; with the school director and then there are conversations with all of them at once. Both sides know that such occasions do not serve the purpose of speaking the truth but merely of exchanging pre-arranged statements.

Youthful non-conformists are faced with still another problem. Previously, the state threatened them with spoiling their career under socialism. Now, many of them are faced with the prospect that the state is no longer able to guarantee their future at all. Long plagued by a labor shortage, the GDR now has the beginnings of an unemployment problem, as job seekers people the halls of labor offices in the city district administrations.

"Our TV network sometimes carries reports from the West," an unemployed East Berlin electrician who has been looking for a job for 6 months says. "They show people at the employment office at eight in the morning, shivering in the cold, carrying a thermos bottle. And when the reporter asks them, they say: yes, I have been coming here for a year now. That is what I was thinking about when I stood in line at the employment office in my district at eight in the morning the other day."

Recently, the employment offices have been open 2 days per week instead of one day as they were last year. The "job seekers," as they are officially called, get 8 marks per day in unemployment compensation.

According to the socialist labor laws, mass firings are not possible, to be sure. But workers, who used to be disciplined for drinking on the job in former times, tend to get fired nowadays. And anyone who quits his job hoping that he will find a new and better one anytime he likes is in for a big surprise.

The signs that read "help wanted" posted in almost all GDR factories in former times are all but gone now. And no wonder: at the Henningsdorf steel mill, for example, the smelters are not working because of a shortage of raw materials. At the Oberspree cable factory in East Berlin, there is a copper shortage and many workers have just been sweeping the workshops for months now. At Henningsdorf, the hiring freeze was temporarily lifted. "The main purpose was to avoid loose talk with regard to unemployment," one of the workmen said.

Unofficially, there is a tendency toward greater candor—the secretary of the party cell in the editorial office of a trade journal saying that one has to face the fact—whether one likes to or not—"that there will be something like an army of job seekers."

The theoretical party journals, on the other hand, tend to describe it all as a problem connected with the changeover of the labor force as part of the process of socialist rationalization. That is also how the economic experts still view it. After all, they are the ones charged with shuttling the unemployed from one department to another and from one plant to another.

Nonetheless, the individual cases are beginning to add up. There are said to be 2,000 unemployed in Schwerin and as many as 30,000 in East Berlin. These figures may be exaggerated; but the pressures on the job market are having an effect on the job training opportunities for young people.

A police precinct in East Berlin. In the interrogation room under the framed portrait of Erich Honecker a punker sits facing a policeman. "Listen, kid," the policeman says to the photographer's apprentice, talking to him like a father, "you ought to be happy about getting any kind of training. The next generation is going to have a much harder time of it, believe me."

Young people can see their chance for a good education vanish. "They do not have the same attitude they had just a few years ago," says a woman working for the church youth program in East Berlin. "They do not look upon graduating from secondary school and things like that as a top priority. They probably feel it is not worth it; that it does not pay to adjust for a whole lifetime."

Those who have already applied to a university feel much the same way. "I got very good grades on my finals and I wanted to study medicine after I signed up for my 3 years in the army. I figured that was it—and it would have been in former times. Now they tell me that I am not particularly active socially. In other words, if you are not a party member, the whole thing will not work."

The would-be medical student was offered alternate opportunities. He could study Marxism-Leninism, business administration or engineering. Anyone who really wanted to attend a university could always go into education in former times, if nothing else worked. But even this field is closed by now.

The old adage has gone by the board. One used to say that the higher the grapes hung, the more eagerly the students would grab at them. But now many of them just do not care.

They do not want to emulate their elders whom they can see before them as living examples--the older brother who became a teacher and always has to disappear when visitors from the West stop by; the girlfriend who was in the same church peace group and who now says goodbye to the pastor with tears in her eyes. She has now been accepted by a university which is what she always wanted. She would like to keep on working in the group--but she just cannot do both.

Nor do many young people wish to accept their own parents as role models--particularly if these have been successful under socialism. In fact, numerous sons and daughters of high-ranking functionaries are punkers and pacifists.

The son of a diplomat from Potsdam, now working as a window washer, calls his parents "mummies." And a 19 year-old punker views his parents thus: "I really got sick and tired of their petit bourgeois airs. I am against this specifically German way of looking at things. Germans, as far as I am concerned, are both petit bourgeois and square by nature. I just cannot stand them and the mask they wear and never take off."

The 22 year-old daughter of a high-ranking SED functionary just wants out. She wants to go to Paris or Rome; she has already applied for an exit permit. Since she cannot live off her paintings, she works for an old dentist 3 days each week. She feels sorry for her harassed father. "People like him," she says, "who really have to shoulder practical responsibilities--in other words those who are not just spouting ideology, they are really to be pitied. They know what the problems are but cannot do anything about them just the same. If you are way down on the bottom, you just switch off and when you are number one or number two, then you just sort of float above it all."

This young woman says her piece without any particular sympathy. The world in which her parents live--that of the high caste of the GDR--is not her world. For years now, she has found a new home--which she never found inside her own family--in the milieu of private art exhibits and discussion groups. "Do you really think I know any more than you do what they talk about and how they treat each other?" she says. "I could only tell by looking at my father how exhausted he was when he was driven home in his official Volvo 5 hours after the close of business. He never told us a thing. There was no communication between us--both ways."

That is why the lost children of the power elite look for their small ways of escaping and why they discover art and philosophy and the church and religion. They eke out a living by working for privately-owned companies or the church as cemetery gardeners, garbage truck drivers or cleaning women.

Like their parents, these young people crawl into the nooks and crannies of socialist society. But while the young people are trying to exhibit an alternative way of life, their elders need their particular nooks and crannies--their weekend houses, their family life or their circle of close friends--to relax from the stresses of the public role they are playing.

Another way of relaxing completely in the here and now of the workers and peasants republic is to turn to drink. In this field, the GDR will soon have hit the big time--as it has in divorces, suicides and environmental pollution. To keep the nooks and crannies nice and cozy, more and more people are reaching for the bottle.

An information booth at the Dresden church convocation last June offered a vivid picture of the situation. "There are 600 alcoholics (the GDR average) for every 30,000 inhabitants. Applying these figures to Dresden, this would mean 10,000 alcoholics! The number of unreported alcoholics is even higher."

A survey of 14-18 year-olds by the "working group against addictive practices" found that only 25 percent of those polled drank no alcoholic beverages at all. Just under 50 percent admitted to drinking every weekend. They said they preferred drinking within the family or with friends. But after hours, in the empty streets of Rostock, Erfurt or Halle, there is no way of overlooking the problem. Virtually the only people still about are the drunks on the sidewalks.

Meantime, the SED has launched anti-drinking campaigns to cut down on the damage drinking does to the economy. The psychiatric wards of the state hospitals are overcrowded. And in the district psychiatric clinics, people are getting together for Western-style group therapy sessions that used to be anathema in the GDR.

"That is the price we pay for this eternal schizophrenia and for our continuing double life," a well-known film maker is saying--only to ask his visitors whether they would not like "one more drink."

Irene Boehme, a former member of the editorial staff of the East Berlin cultural journal SONNTAG, has described how this nook and cranny mentality works.\* She compares the "socialist rules of the game" with "four well-worn coins."

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\* Irene Boehme, "Die da drueben" [Those Over There], Berlin, Rotbuch Verlag

There is the grey market where one buys most of one's daily needs; there is the correct class "family tree" which helps determine one's social career; the right kind of "education" which the party and the people ask for as a prerequisite for launching a career and—a "presentable" ideology.

At one time, these norms represented progress; they were genuine tools to combat the excesses of Stalinism. But that is something today's young people no longer know from their own experience. They chafe at the kind of life that has emerged since; they loathe the "mask which no one removes." Communication is kaputt.

The need always to have to wear a mask in public is something they all have in common—the pacifist students, the sassy punkers, the devout young congregation member, the alternative potter, the folk singer and the subculture writer.

School is a machine; politics is a machine and the career is, too. Those who know how to work the machine; those who drop Irene Boehme's "well-worn coins" into the right slots will get what they need—and sometimes even a hefty bonus. He who plays the game according to the real socialist rules will make out: Tell the state what it wants to hear and grab all you can get your hands on.

If there is one common denominator to the various forms of protest and for this unrest among young people in the GDR, it is the disenchantment with this double life.

In a pamphlet entitled "First Hand—Young People in the GDR" and published in 1982, the FDJ contends that such a generation conflict does not exist. Even if unintentionally, the FDJ is right. The shift in social values contains more explosive power than a mere short-term dispute between young and old.

Many families in fact are taking emergency measures. Now that their children are attending the Christian youth meetings in droves, anxious mothers and angry fathers are beginning to turn on the pastors and social workers. "Ever since my son started going to the Young Congregation, pastor, he has had nothing but trouble with his civics teacher," a father complains. And a mother can be heard saying that "if these political evening meetings do not stop, I will simply forbid my daughter Bettina to attend."

But the older generation is not immune, either. The disenchantment of the younger generation is contagious; the virus is indiscriminate.

A Weimar living room. The first case of Radeberger beer is already empty. People are gradually beginning to open up. My hostess is worried. She thinks her husband--an esteemed and well-paid member of society--has gone crazy. "He says he is not going to take part in his reserve exercise. Just imagine what that means!"

2 years ago, he did go--complaining like everybody else; but he went--like everybody else. Now he is sitting on the sofa, looking at his hysterical wife and his perplexed group of friends with a faint smile. He says that the way he feels reminds him of some American movies he has seen. "At some point, a man simply says 'no'; he turns against all the others and goes his own way."

Sure, he could keep on doing what he has been doing all along. He could continue buying things at the specialty shop; he loves his hobby and twice each year he could take "a decent vacation." "They even told him he could have a real cushy job at the reserve exercise this summer," his wife says.

And now this--a shirker in the family. The hostess looks around, hoping someone will help. "Why don't you say something. This is sheer madness, isn't it ?"

One hour earlier, she talked quite differently when a young priest who was part of the group had called for change by small stages. An uncle of his, the priest said, who is a devout Christian refused to join the party at his place of work and even resisted the pressure of the cadre leader. His colleagues finally accepted the stand he had taken. If someone does that, the priest said, things really start moving.

The host had liked the story; but the hostess said to the man of the cloth: "I simply cannot understand how you can be so patient." She, for her part, was not up to it, she said. This way, nothing would move.

But later, when it was her own husband--the man who refused to take part in the reserve exercise--they were ralking about all the strong language seemed forgotten.

And that is what it is that the young people in the GDR cannot stand about the older generation: their everlasting complaints in private and their utterly good behavior in public--side-by-side. The young have received precious little of which they can be proud from their elders. Now the time has come for them to regain the self-esteem that was smothered by envy of the West and opportunism.

Most of those who publicly admit to being anti-establishment, environmentalists or pacifists; just plain servants or young Christians make a point of calling themselves citizens of the GDR. They are not particularly fond of voyeurs from the West and most of them consider leaving their

country—voluntarily or not—shameful. Those who have been exiled from East Berlin, Jena or elsewhere and now live in West Berlin consider themselves exiles; pining for their country, if not for its government.

When asked whether their raucous lyrics (such as "come out of the arse") are meant to motivate youngsters their own age to drop out or to get with it, the East Berlin rock group "Pankow" replied by transvaluating that particular set of Western assumptions. "On our side, there are many people inclined to drop out, as you call it—but not the way you mean it in the West like not going to work. The people here drop out by going private; by doing their work; by being there, doing it. Then, at home, their world starts—complete with TV set and leisure time hobbies. There are reasons for it, of course. We feel it is terribly depressing that too few people feel responsible for the way they live and have the courage to act against the things that bother them—to take the necessary steps and simply to live a more active life."

The dropouts—those are the ones who are normal.

[10 Oct 83 pp 116, 118, 120, 121, 123, 125, 127, 130, 132, 134]

[Text] It is evening. There is a party at Sally's place in the Berlin-Mitte district. 50 people are there, standing about in a crowd or lying on old mattresses and do-it-yourself plywood furniture. It is a one-room apartment with a kitchen in the rear building, two flights up; the toilet is in the hall. Somebody is collecting money to get some beer from the pub downstairs. There is a pot of lard in the kitchen and nothing else.

Little slips of paper are being distributed. They have a date on them, the time of day and the place to meet. "It's a bicycle demonstration," someone says. "We are splitting ourselves up this time at three different places so we will get through without a hitch. We will be going toward the center of town from the north, the east and the south."

The authorities are employing all sorts of tricks to try and prevent such organized demonstrations.

Riding bicycles has become a symbol for environmental awareness in the GDR, too, now. Old bicycles are sought-after items; new ones are hard to get. The SED did not plan ahead to meet the new need. In almost all cities, there are no bicycle paths even though many people rely on their bicycles for transportation. Anyone living in the GDR has a 10-year wait for a "Trabant" automobile.

A 50 year-old father tells us that his 18 year-old daughter just is not "in the mood" right now to order a car. She does not feel like planning her life ahead for 8 years. Besides, she would rather do without a "Trabant" or a "Wartburg" because "they just poison our air" and she can do a lot of other things with the money that are more fun.

Her girlfriend has plans for starting an ecology group along with some others who feel as she does. One of them has been clipping the pertinent articles from the official newspapers for months. "It isn't much," Thomas says, "although they do carry a lot more items than they used to. But if they don't do anything up at the top, we will just have to do something ourselves."

Thomas has already had some trouble with the VoPo section chief. One day, there was a poster in the entrance way which read "citizens, protect your sidewalks" and showed some rather bad-looking East Berlin sidewalks. This particular poster may sometimes be for sale at FDJ meetings but inside the house it was felt to be undesirable.

Twice it was scraped off the wall but three times it was pasted back on. But one morning, Thomas found a note in his letter box requesting him to appear at the police precinct "to clear up certain things." He spent 3 hours arguing with the police, winning a partial victory in the end. He had to remove the poster from the entranceway but was permitted to display it in the window of his storefront apartment.

Opinions on ecological matters are not only exchanged at smoke-filled parties or on the sly. Anyone walking through the old sections of Leipzig, East Berlin or Dresden can see the signs easily enough: painted windows; rainbows and clouds in a blue sky on the balconies; trees, flowers, meadows and sunshine on the walls of houses that once were grey.

Ecological postcards sell well in the scene. They are not only displayed at church events but even at the ball given by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the official party newspaper; at the FDJ's "House of Young Talent" or at the "Rock for Peace" festival at East Berlin's Palace of the Republic.

These postcards make it clear what the committed environmentalists are after. They want to make direct contact with the citizenry; make people think and do some public relations work.

4 years ago, church-affiliated young people in Schwerin first came up with a definite proposal. They asked the state-owned VEB Gruenanlagen plant for assistance in a tree planting project in a desolate industrial zone. The first time around, 50 young people took part in it; the second time around, there were 100 and later on, there were more than 200. This particular project has been copied all over the GDR.

"When we first reported on the tree planting project in Schwerin in November 1979," the MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG wrote in May of this year, "no one thought that there would one day be a large number of Christian ecology groups." The paper went on to say that a "first meeting of all the ecology groups" took place at Wittenberg in April 1983. More than 30 representatives of independent groups from Rostock, Potsdam, Berlin, Roetha, Leipzig, Dresden, Jena-Neulobeda, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Naumburg attended the meeting.

At a number of regional church congresses, the ecology groups had information booths and distributed pamphlets and their panel discussions on air pollution in the soft coal areas around Halle and Leipzig and the damage to the wooded areas of the Erz Mountains were very well attended.

The ecology groups are particularly active in Mecklenburg. They are protesting against the construction of a new Autobahn which is to branch off in the vicinity of Ludwigslust from the main Hamburg-Berlin Autobahn and to connect Schwerin with the coastal city of Wismar.

The environmentalists believe there are plans for the development of Wismar as a second major port next to Rostock in order to make the GDR more independent of the Baltic seaport of Szczecin in Poland.

The proposed road, say the environmentalists, would divide the recreation areas around Lake Schwerin in two. Walking along Lake Mueritz, a young man named Bernd from Schwerin told me: "It was bad enough when they built the Hamburg Autobahn. From an ecological point of view, it was pure poison for the area."

He took part in a bicycle protest demonstration that went along the proposed road from Schwerin through a number of villages. "We talked to a lot of people along the way. They didn't have the faintest idea about what was being planned here." The initiative calls on the authorities to provide more information about the plans.

On the first weekend in June, the Mecklenburg group staged still another bicycle demonstration. This time, about 100 environmentalists from other areas—most of them from East Berlin—said they would participate. But that was too much for the authorities. Anyone trying to bring in his bicycle was identified as a protester upon arrival at the railroad station and taken into custody. In the end, about two dozen protesters did make it to the meeting place.

But when it is a matter of environmental protection, the differences between those who are contemptuous of the state and the good citizens tend to be fluid.

The forester in the Spreewald taking youth groups on a tour through his assigned area is quite pleased. "I have been into ecology for the past 20 years," he says. A Leipzig couple and their children, out for a Sunday walk in Connewitz Forest, is confronted with twofold destruction of the environment: there is a noisy road going right through the forest and the small river Pleisse has ugly yellowish-white foam floating on it.

The father tells his little ones that the stuff floating in the river is called phenol and the mother yanks one of the kids back from the edge of the river and for the tenth time tells him the story of the old woman who fell into the river not so long ago and was dead when they pulled her out. She had not drowned but had been killed by the poison in the water.

In 1980, the SED called a "Society for Nature and Environment" into being in order to provide an outlet for popular discontent. The society is organized according to the usual cadre plan. The party determines which party members and experts are to run the local chapter. Then, a report is made to the SED district headquarters saying that political activity has now been successfully expanded to include environmental protection. After that, nothing happens in most instances. The members who frequently serve on three or four other boards have more important duties to attend to elsewhere.

But it is not like that everywhere. In Leipzig and Rostock, for example, the society is doing some good work. Critics and persons with an interest in social policy issues are easier to find in the natural sciences than in the social sciences so heavily laden with ideological freight. A pool of dedicated experts stands ready to work for the church or for the state-run environmental society, depending on their own particular preferences. For this reason, the church-sponsored environmental groups rarely have a difficult time locating speakers for their discussion evenings.

The Rostock church-affiliated environmentalists, for instance, take a rather favorable view of the efforts of the local SED-run environmental society. "They are working on practical issues--reforestation, parks and the like." Which is what the Christian Greens are working for as well. "Our project called for planting 700 trees along the Autobahn. We planted them ourselves and nurtured them along."

Such practical actions do not go far enough in the view of some church environmentalists. One of their spokesmen is Peter Gensichen, a religious ecologist and the head of the church research center at Wittenberg. He puts out a newsletter on environmental issues at irregular intervals and this year called for a period of fasting between Ash Wednesday and Easter. That call, which was reprinted by a number of GDR church newspapers, contained detailed suggestions on doing without meat, coffee and alcoholic beverages. Gensichen hopes to get people to "get used to a simpler life style" in this way.

Others in the environmental camp feel this is too idealistic. "It sounds too much like self-chastisement and abnegation," an East Berlin student of theology said. That is no way of attracting followers; alternative life styles should be fun, after all.

Fun as against concrete buildings is the basic premise of a new film that was held back for 2 years and is now being shown in GDR theaters. It was made at the state-run Defa film studios and is called "Insel der Schwaene" [Swan Island]. The director is Hermann Zschoche and the script was prepared by Ulrich Plenzdorf. The film was not approved by the board until a song by children from the new East Berlin housing area of Marzahn was first removed. "That's what we were afraid of," they sang, "now we've got concrete all over." But basically the story of a 13 year-old country boy who moves to a city hi-rise with his parents remained intact.

In the film, the Marzahn concrete housing area gets a good going over. The children and adolescents shown in the film are unwilling to adapt as a matter of course. They throw rocks at the bulldozers sent in to level their playground. They paste a poster on their building bulletin board without permission which reads: "we don't want any concrete; we want tunnels and meadows." And at the end, when they do not get the adventure playground they were promised but nothing but concrete instead, they start to destroy things.

The film continues to run in GDR theaters and it has made for controversy. The official party newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND called it a "bald-faced attack against the typically socialist characteristics of our way of life." The East Berlin newspaper DER MORGEN, on the other hand, had nothing but praise for "Swan Island." When the film was shown in Leipzig, those who saw it at an FDJ club split into two groups. One group felt it was "played down too much" because things are "really much worse in such housing areas." But the other group called the film one-sided.

One month after the film was released several GDR newspapers carried full-page stories about the advantages of living in these new housing areas--as if ordered to do so. The FDJ newspaper JUNGES LEBEN printed a dozen letters from its readers. The general tenor of the letters was "the film is throwing concrete blobs at us! What business does Defa have inventing a broken world! New housing is just fine! Everything has to be discussed; you don't have make posters or destroy things. Where will all this lead?" What it does lead to was shown by a 17 year-old participant in a poster contest on environmental themes in Gotha in Thuringia. His poster is addressed to the state-owned concrete plant at Schoenheidau: Why not cover everything with concrete; then at least everything will be nice and tidy.

Nice and tidy--that is the way the adults want it. They harp on their standard of living under welfare socialism and keep on running their hopeless consumer race with the West. For years, the SED has been robbing them of every last vestige of initiative--the state and the party will do right by you, they were told.

Voluntary social commitment has become a rarity among this generation. Making waves, seems to much of a risk; adapting to the wishes of the authorities and organizations, is the best way of guaranteeing a peaceful life.

For all that, citizens' protests from below against measures taken by low-level and mid-level bureaucracies might well be productive and as such of interest even for SED functionaries. "If no attention is paid to impulses from below, traditional SED policies have no future," a 42 year-old assistant university professor tells us.

A variety of laws make it possible for citizens to participate in the GDR and the SED rarely lets an opportunity go by when it comes to calling socialist democracy superior to democracy under capitalism. But at the very desks where participation of so-called citizens' mass organizations is being made part of the plan, such participation is also smothered. Spontaneity and self-generated initiative come under suspicion quickly enough.

Nonetheless, young people above all are getting more of a feel for participation. The authorities can tell by the number of petitions addressed to them. "We even had to take on some new personnel," an expert at the East Berlin environmental protection ministry says.

Professor Hanfried Mueller of East Berlin is calling on the generation which has left its imprint on present-day GDR society to exercise self-criticism. "Have we perhaps asked too much of some of our young people in the way of learning and too little in the way of thinking--with the result that they could not comprehend what they had learned ? Have we given too much in the way of material goods to some and too little in the way of spiritual values--with the result that they now complain about economic well-being and yet are deficient in both awareness and moral strength ? Have we not sometimes thought too soon that we had a right to peace and comfort after all our struggles and did we not rest on our laurels and thereby set a bad example ?"

If these questions remain unanswered, the professor says, it will inevitably be "to our own detriment."

Most of those holding party posts or leading positions in the government would rather repress these things and somehow be rid of all the malcontents. But is it no longer as easy as all that. The crisis in values has affected society as a whole and manifested itself in different ways: applications for exit permits; alcoholism; dropouts.

In fact, the number of those affected is growing all the time. The fact that the state singles out individual culprits to set an example; that they are arrested and deported is restraining young people less and less from becoming active themselves. Reverting to the repressive measures of the fifties and sixties will no longer work, either. Deterrence as policy has failed in this regard, too.

Even official art in the GDR is increasingly freeing itself from the party's ideological clutches. The great "art exhibition of the GDR," held every 5 years in Dresden, which is to provide a showcase for the hale world of socialism and the unity of the fine arts and the SED, presented a somewhat different picture of the GDR at its ninth go-round in 1983. After taking a tour of the exhibit, some irritated spectators said: "It all looks a bit on the 'kaputt' side."

Instead of the customary paintings depicting the happy toil of the working class and the inexorable progress of real socialism in the GDR there was some genuine realism to be seen as depicted by even some of the best-known artists—protests against loneliness, alienation and environmental abuse.

The title of a painting virtually teeming with garbage by Bernhard Heisig, one of the star painters of the GDR who has also made a name for himself in the West, is "The End of the Evening (TV) Program." A wide-open mouth shouts "Have a Good Night!" at the spectators—but it looks more like a cry of anguish. War, environmental pollution and alcoholism appear in the painting as wraithlike symbols. Happy theater goers; musicians playing at a dance and in the background the Tower of Babel as a kind of memorial criticizing civilization. All in all, the painting seems to reflect the mood of the Udo Lindenberg lyrics which go: "Always happy, always merry till at last you get buried."

Joachim Scholz, born in 1934, who hewed to the SED line for years has now come up with a painting showing an old woman seated in front of a row of prefabricated houses and a partially demolished old building, simply staring into space.

Dying forests and dying fish; desolate industrial parks and desolate city-scapes over and over again—motifs which were anathema for 30 years. Not even leisure time is what it used to be under socialism. The paintings of Ulrich Hachulla and Ellena Olsen just show people guzzling and gorging themselves at some festive banquet—instead of the customary happy crowd.

The catalog of the Dresden exhibition contains a commentary by Helga Möbius on the critical realism of the artists. "The unconditional domination of rationality and the rational view of the world; the rational organization of all aspects of life from top to bottom is an important goal," she writes. "But this results in a growing need for spontaneity and imagination and for developing sensuality and existential meaning with equal intensity."

On this finding the Berlin art historian, the punks from Prenzlauer Berg and the aforementioned university professor would seem to agree. But she is more explicit than the latter when she says that one must learn to deal with these non-material needs of the individual. "All these problems could be productive," she writes. "In fact, they ought to be, since progress will not occur in the absence of contradiction."

Now that is a motto every youth functionary, every city planner and every teacher in the GDR would do well to hang on his wall. There are probably enough of them who agree anyway--judging by the complaints about technocratic planning mistakes and the "don't rock the boat" mentality which constantly appear in the learned journals for educators, architects, psychologists and cultural scientists.

But the particular minority in the GDR which calls for an unconditional break with conformism does not get a hearing at the art exhibits or from the art critics. It meets instead in private apartments, cellars or attics where its works are shown. The only ones who pay close attention to them are the state security agents.

In the cultural underground, people talk something like this: "I can see a great number of painters receiving support from the state. I can see how bored they are as they complete their projects. And I can see an artistic standard that is being kept alive in this fashion. I can see them prostitute themselves for a handout from the ideological powers that be."

The days when one would drink red wine from Hungary and go deep into existentialism are long gone. Now these things are put differently. "This monochromatic, well-functioning existence will awaken a desire for imagery and colors in us. We will move along the edges of kitsch just to vivify all the greyness."

"I don't know what the needs of society are," another says. "But I do know what my needs and those of my friends are because we are alive and are a reflected image of this society."

Some of the paintings shown at this type of exhibit have been done jointly by several painters or by painters and writers working together. Wild paint brush and sharp pen combine to have a field day. The works are full of archaic symbols and jottings as though from Marx's workbook or mom's shopping list.

The desire for "spontaneity and imagination" Helga Moebius observed in Dresden--with these pariahs of the official GDR art establishment it has turned into an obsession.

I know of no Weltanschauung or long-distance ticket or anything else that does not have a price marked on it. Except for my own language I know of no way of leaving my language behind.

That is the introduction East Berlin lyric poet Sascha Anderson has composed for his book of poems entitled "Every Satellite Has a Killer Satellite of Its Own" which was published in West Berlin in 1982. Young lyric poets and painters like Anderson, Bert Papenfuss, Uwe Kolbe and Ralf Kerbach symbolize a cultural rift inside the GDR one side of which they themselves represent.

That fault line does not run from Luebeck to Hof: "Walk across the border and on the other side of the border there will be a man who says to you--walk across the border."

Anderson repeats this and turns it into a neverending story. Kerbach and he went on a trip through the GDR in 1982. In December, Anderson went another trip by himself--"more than 7,000 kilometers" all told.

The two of them came across the fault lines inside their own republic and on the other side of the border there is that uninteresting Doppelgaenger who says "walk across the border."

The new wild men of the GDR poetry scene do not seem interested in what happens later but simply in what they can see in front of their eyes and what it is that keeps them from walking on. They call the border a "symbol of enlightenment" and the border guards who "squat in the death zone by twos" and wave to people on a Sunday outing by train through the Harz Mountains a symbol of "inextricably queered" German history.

Summing up this "Harzreise" [originally a poem by Goethe], the poet whose guide was Heine says: "in between the villages, misery and care/ enough to make me stop writing/the real borders only make you hang your .... in shame."

Constantly the travelers keep stumbling over cadavers of the most recent German past. On the West Bank of the Oder they come upon fern-covered

statuary of the Hitler era and upon Ribbentrop's one-time cleaning woman. Along the Lausitz River, they are there as an industrial zone takes the place of some farmland--bulldozers levelling the Galgenberg, a 1000 year-old Sorbic cemetery.

Anderson's travel poem ends with a manifesto, as he turns his back on his own alien history: "If I had not lost all feeling for my homeland; if I could experience nature with its dead volcanic symbols which has grown out of the sandstone covering of this landscape as a source of strength--as something that makes the heart beat quicker than from a fast climb, then I would sing the praises of these ruins and towers, these crosses and ways of the cross, these names and these crowds which we Germans lavish care upon and cover with old-style writing at every spot that rises 100 meters above sea level."

The literary establishment in the GDR does not like things like this at all. There are only a few--like Franz Fuehmann, who wrote a postscript to one of Uwe Kolbe's books of poems--who try to show some understanding for the new trend.

More typical of the reaction is a scathing review in NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR where literary historian Klaus Jarmatz accuses the non-conformist outsiders of individualism and of turning their back on society. Some young authors, Jarmatz complains, "make too much of the fault lines" in socialist society. Individual writers are indulging in a mixture of "dismay and emotionalism" and are seeking "self-realization outside the real world." And it all comes down to being "strangely indeterminate," Jarmatz concludes.

Neither Jarmatz, nor most of the other literary critics in the GDR care to take note of the subtle charm of insouciance which is a hallmark of "some young authors." It simply does not fit into their image of socialist art.

This insouciance is what distinguishes the new writers from their older models such as Volker Braun and Wolf Biermann. There is a kind of naive brazenness about the way they charge at their immediate environment and at problems farther afield that leaves some of the older writers breathless. These 20 and 30 year-olds of today have a different view of their society and the history of the GDR. They have been "born into it," as Uwe Kolbe puts it, and no longer have to wrestle with the question of whether the wrong turn was taken back in 1945, in 1952 or 1961.

It is odd but true that the SED educational program has succeeded in having these young people--who were born and raised under socialism--identify with the GDR. The culture bureaucrats, for all that, would just as soon keep reprinting Western literature; to keep honoring Schiller and Goethe and to rehabilitate erstwhile reactionaries such as Luther, Bismarck, Karl May and--sometime soon--Nietzsche.

This stance merely serves to harden the counter-literature. Guenter Erbe of West Berlin's Free University compares the poems of Anderson, Kolbe and a number of other young GDR poets with those of the beat generation of the fifties. The then attitude of "tough passiveness and newly directed, tense activity" (as West Berlin literary historian Walter Hoellerer has characterized it) is echoed by the young GDR poets in Erbe's view.

They no longer think of themselves as socialist writers but as poets pure and simple, in the classic sense. "When it comes to commitment," Uwe Kolbe says, "my generation is sitting on its hands."

"I'll go even further," he adds, "and say that this generation is totally destabilized. They do not feel at home here, nor can they see an alternative anywhere else."

This latter observation appeared in the GDR journal WEIMARER BEITRAEGE in 1979 as part of a poll among young authors.

Some of the others have a closer relationship to politics—such as 31 year-old Lutz Rathenow for example. His German critique of militarism places him in the mainstream of current political writing. Rathenow avails himself of opportunities to speak at peace meetings sponsored by the church. On such occasions, he speaks on "thoughts about ways of obstructing peace."

Toy tanks; cynical statements by non-coms; the self-deceptive nature of civil defense exercises and the children's "war game" cutout sheets provide him with the material for his "thoughts." Rathenow's definition of optimism is "the belief that the next war will not be the last one." That is the language used by Christian or, for that matter, non-religious pacifists.

On 13 May 1983, a political experiment was to take place in the vicinity of Rostock. The Kessin peace seminar had invited the GDR peace council, Rostock's FDJ organization, two natural scientists, one theologian, regional bishop Heinrich Rathke and Lutz Rathenow to take part in a panel discussion. Those responsible for the meeting were greatly interested in having the FDJ and the official peace council participate. It was all the more noteworthy that they also chose to invite Rathenow whose name appears at the top of the SSD list of unpopular GDR citizens.

The Kessin was a 50 percent failure. Although they had agreed to attend, both the FDJ and the peace council representatives did not show up. The two natural scientists represented the SED side of the issue and Rathenow read from his writings which may not appear in print in the GDR.

Lutz Rathenow and Sascha Anderson seem to be worlds apart—pacifism and the Bohemian world; commitment and avant-garde atmosphere. But such contrasts tend to be somewhat less marked on the Berlin scene.

There are always the same parties at which one meets and talks; the same general area where one lives and the same methods chosen to try and trip an outsider up.

Common everyday reality is experienced both by the Bohemians and the activists in the Prenzlauer Berg district. In Plenzdorf's new film, one of the small girls calls the other a "diplomat cow" and the other responds by calling her a "Prenzlauer Berg stupid." Out in the country in the GDR, people tend to speak of that particular East Berlin district the way Franconian villagers speak of West Berlin's Kreuzberg district where the dropouts and Turks live. The run-down apartment blocks of Prenzlauer Berg are the home of the cream of the Eastern scene, the turgid melting pot of old Honecker's isolated republic.

Rathenow tells us about the work of a non-professional acting group that has been meeting once a week for the past year in a Prenzlauer Berg youth club. The idea, he says, is "to rehearse the kind of theater pieces you can put on in these backyards." In the West, once upon a time, this type of thing was called a happening, action theater, street theater. Rathenow refers to it as "lyric productions"—an attempt "to transfer poetry to a different medium" or "yelling your head off in the backyard."

There are many initiatives of this type. All over the republic, dozens of theater and music groups are rehearsing to put on church-sponsored youth events. The topics they deal with usually center on the double life they must lead as between schools, jobs and their private world.

The everyday variations on this theme are played through in the blues masses of Protestant youth pastor Rainer Eppelmann in the Friedrichshain district of East Berlin. Last year, the keyword was "listlessness." The scenery included a vandalized telephone booth.

At the Rostock church congress in June, one young theater group put on a piece which dealt with its experiences of suspicion and conformity in public life. They had come up with a great many scenes but in the end were able to put on only a few of them.

Not only Christian youth groups and hippies in the Prenzlauer Berg area have struck upon theater as medium of communication. Professionals, too, are finding it to their liking.

East Berlin, 30 January 1983. In the Palace of the Republic, the third evening of the "Rocking for Peace" spectacular is taking place. It is being organized by the FDJ, the Kulturbund and the committee for entertainment art.

Unlike in previous years, the committee has booked almost all the floors and halls of the Palace for the 3-day event. There is room enough for all kinds of self-display. There are posters and postcards containing courteous but explicit criticism of the Green variety. There is a booth selling works of young graphic artists. There are some real live punkers mingling with the crowd. At the fourth floor snack bar, a punk twosome is having a sandwich right next to some FDJ blueshirts and members of the Palace guard.

Downstairs, in the lobby, youngsters are folding and writing on some small paper cranes and sticking them on a huge cardboard globe. In no time at all, the cranes turn into something of a political still life. Everybody is writing his particular credo on the paper birds. It is all there—from a straightforward statement like "I'm going to join the NVA" to the more languid "make love, not war—John Lennon." But the slogans of the unofficial peace movements the regime condemns are there, too: "swords into plowshares" and "make peace without weapons."

Things quiet down as soon as the stars of the evening are announced—the "Pankow" rock group among them. The 5-man combo has come up with something special to mark today's 50th anniversary of the Nazi takeover. It is a totally dark in the large hall, which seats 3,000. The spotlight is on one solitary person: André Herzberg, the vocalist of the group, who is of Jewish extraction has come on stage to do a reverse strip tease.

First, he is almost naked and then starts to put on a full Wehrmacht uniform including the assault rifle and steel helmet. There are some isolated whistles. The 3,000 people in the audience cannot be seen; but one can hear them from time to time giving vent to their displeasure. They are obviously irritated by the spectacle.

This impression becomes stronger as soon as Herzberg starts to speak. He is playing the part of the unemployed Hitler voter—the little man who puts his money on the Storm Troops and the new order. Then the lights come on and the group starts to play. Herzberg is shouting the "come out of the arse" refrain, giving it a hard, fast rhythm, dancing all the while in his Wehrmacht uniform.

This combination of hard rock and punk accessories as well as the everyday realism of the lyrics and the accompanying theatrics have a provocative effect. One of the organizers tells us that "it was not clear until a short time ago" whether the Wehrmacht scene would be put on at all.

Even fascism, the standard theme of political education in the GDR, acts as an irritant. When they do talk about it, young people do not want to gloss over the love of authority of and of the military in Germany. "Look at this!" the "Pankow" singer cries, pointing to his Wehrmacht boots and then he shouts "we must have order again in Germany!"

Capitalism leads to fascism ? Authoritarian thinking leads to fascism ? Discerning GDR citizens like to show Western visitors a book published 1947 by Reclam of Leipzig entitled "LTI" (Lingua Tertii Imperii--The Language of the Third Reich); some notes on the linguistic and everyday details of the Hitler era.

Commenting on the Nazis' use of the word "historical," author Victor Klemperer says: "The word 'historical' applies to every speech by the Fuehrer even if he says the same thing 100 times over and every meeting between the Fuehrer and the Duce may be called 'historical' even if it does not alter the existing situation one iota...and the byword 'historical' also applies to every harvest thanksgiving celebration, to every party congress and to every feast day of whatever kind."

There are hardly any young persons in the GDR who have read this book who would equate the Nazis with the communists. But they do not care one bit for their teachers pinning the fascism label and the authoritarian heritage on the other Germans and only speaking of monopolistic financiers. The punker from Halle who hates "the way the Germans are" doesn't like it; nor does the rock singer who refers to it in a different way from what they say in school; nor the poet who keeps his distance from German traditions.

Whenever this tradition is publicly repressed, one runs into rather odd situations at times. At the Leipzig documentary film week in November 1981, film makers and SED cultural officials were discussing the merits of a West German film on neo-Nazism. One of the participants said: "and when fascism was instituted in the FRG..."

The reference, of course, was to the Weimar Republic—but the speaker did not stop in the middle of the sentence and go back, nor did any of the other participants notice the slip of the tongue he had made.

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[Text] More than 1,000 people are gathered in the Luther yard at Wittenberg, located between the state's Luther hall and the church's Luther house. A combo is playing and slides are being projected on a wall of the Luther house. The crowd is waiting for an unusual event to take place.

A muscular man with a sword in his hand walks up to an anvil. "I know that man," one of the young people there says. "He used to be a metal-smith here in Wittenberg; but now he is working in one of the state-owned plants." The smith starts working; he gets the sword to glowing in a forge and then begins to hammer it into shape.

As he strikes the metal, the young audience starts to clap rhythmically. With some interruptions to catch his breath, the metalsmith works for half an hour. The point of the sword gradually bends and turns into a plowshare.

Pastor Friedrich Schorlemmer is there, too, and says he has vision of turning "pikes into sickles," "missile casings into water tanks," "destroyers into passenger ships," "helicopter gunships into first aid helicopters" and "dreams into reality."

In this fashion, a victory is won at the Saxon Protestant church congress in Wittenberg in late September over the state which has outlawed the symbol of the church peace movement "Swords into Plowshares" and has made life difficult for those who displayed the emblem.

2 weeks prior to the Wittenberg congress, Johannes Hempel, the bishop of Saxony, called the state's 1½-year campaign of bans and persecutions a "serious symbolic mistake." VoPos, managers and teachers had worked hard at ferreting out and collecting most of the emblems. But this is the end, Hempel said. "A lot of trust particularly among young people has been destroyed."

The young people will not permit anyone to keep them from committing themselves to peace.

Pursuant to the church's "dare to trust" slogan, they are carrying on information campaigns about missiles and the arms madness; launching protests against militarization and military toys and at Whitsun this year, they took part in the FDJ peace marches in many localities.

Leipzig, Gneisenaustrasse. The doorbell is ringing. Janine wipes her hands which are full of paint from making up posters and opens the door. It is Stefan.

"What happened? Are they letting us?" Stefan has just come from FDJ district headquarters where he wanted to talk about taking part in the official "peace demonstration" on the following day. The independent peace group plans to show up with its own posters and slogans. Stefan shrugs his shoulders. "It looks like it," he says.

The others appear, coming from all parts of the apartment. First, they make some tea and Stefan has to tell all. Some 50 other people besides them have said they will come the next day. For weeks, they kept debating whether something like this is worth the effort or not.

"If we do not manage to have an impact beyond our own immediate circle, then the whole thing makes no sense," one group had argued. And others felt "if we march along with the FDJ, the public will not take us seriously any more. Then we will be lumped together with them."

There were many such discussions as this one in Leipzig within the East German peace movement last spring. In most GDR cities, those in favor of taking part in the FDJ demonstrations carried the day. The "private" supporters of peace in Potsdam, Jena, Halle, Zittau, Cottbus, Magdeburg and elsewhere wanted to prove that they were not merely an exotic fringe element of socialist society.

Next morning, the Leipzig group appeared at the assembly point, carrying its posters. There were some people already waiting for them. All of a sudden, a representative of the district council told them he knew nothing of any agreement entered into by FDJ district headquarters. "Not a chance," he said. "We will not let you spoil our demonstration for us."

Just as suddenly, some helpers appeared and took all their unofficial placards away. They even got a receipt for them. That's (East) German thoroughness for you.

Their peace emblems; their slogans against military toys and for education for peace all wound up in a waiting pickup truck. Even their appeal for nuclear-free zones had to go--despite the fact that it is part of the SED propaganda repertory as well.

The security guards who were standing about merely grinned. But neither side really got nasty. That is simply the way it is and the local party cadres were just doing their duty without being particularly grim about it.

In the end, Stefan, Janine and the others marched along--minus their placards. The peace buttons on their far-out attire and their attempts to sing their own peace songs drew enough attention on them anyway. Following the demonstration, most of the members of the group got to talking to people "whom we otherwise would never have met."

In other places, the reaction of the functionaries was more flexible. In Pritzwalk, a church group already got permission to take part in the FDJ Whitsun peace demonstration last year. "They were the only participants who seemed truly committed," an SED man told his party friends afterwards. For weeks, the small town talked about hardly anything else.

That functionary was by no means all wrong. Of course everyone in the GDR is for peace; but for many citizens such a demonstration is no more than still another obligatory exercise in which one has to take part because it is good for one's career.

The party knows that just as well. In time for the Whitsun congress in 1983 it pulled a switch in tactics. Functionaries let it be known that everyone was permitted to take part in the peace demonstration and "had a right to do his own thing."

But how far this right really went was left up to the local authorities. And these were not always as open-hearted as in Pritzwalk or Zittau. The members of the FDJ and the sober citizens of those two cities got to see banners and posters bearing unfamiliar slogans such as "Peace Education in the Schools," "Military Toys? Parents Are Responsible for Their Children," "For Genuine and Not Armed Peace in East and West," "Disarmament Instead of Rearmament" and "Against Weapons—For Peace."

A mere 2 hours before the start of the demonstration the local authorities gave permission for the non-official placards. So that everything went by the book, the group was assigned a place within the ranks of the other friends of peace.

It is doubtful that the FDJ will continue to allow that its annual Whitsun meetings be open to all comers—because it is not everywhere that the peace groups are satisfied with mere participation in the events. In Halle, for example, they wrote to the youth organization that they would like to engage FDJ members in a "constructive dialogue" about peace and the methods for achieving it. The letter contained 100 signatures and the signers even got a response to it.

Which was negative, however. FDJ headquarters told them that it did not recognize any groups and would, as a consequence, not engage in any discussions with them but that it did stand ready to debate on a one-on-one basis. But these conversations led nowhere. "They just spouted their line," someone who was there later said, "and then, after a while, we simply took our leave."

In Potsdam, the party functionaries resorted to somewhat plainer language. "Participation in official demonstrations such as it was this year will most assuredly not happen again," one youth was told in no uncertain terms. And even liberal Zittau's district council let it be known that "there will almost certainly not be a next time."

The contradictory methods used by the SED in dealing with the peace movement point up the dilemma the party now faces. On the one hand, the SED cannot simply brush the peace activists aside or treat them as criminals, if the party does not want to forfeit its own credibility as a leading force for peace. Which is why not a few functionaries are saying "we must make every effort to achieve unity among all the groups working for peace."

On the other hand, the SED fears every sign of uncontrolled spontaneity like the plague—since this is how subversion and chaos start. "Our demon-

strations must not be permitted to turn into happenings by enemies of the state," others say. The non-organized groups are composed in the main of "Solidarity" agitators, anarchists and agents, they add.

The directorate of the GDR council of churches, however, wants to have Christian peace groups take part in government demonstrations on their own. In September, church leaders directed an appeal to the party. "Questions and independent suggestions for solutions to official policy should not be suspected out of hand as being directed against the state and against society," they said.

The Protestant church leaders also voiced some open criticism. "We deplore the fact," they said, "that Christians were at first invited to take part in the Whitsun 1983 'youth for peace demonstration' with their own slogans but were subsequently excluded, suspected of wrongdoing or even removed by force." In the future, the church leaders said they hoped "our partners" in society "would both think along and act along with us."

As in the case of the unwanted Whitsun demonstrators, the SED is just as insecure when it comes to another kind of peace activity--the "peace workshop" of the Protestant church.

In July, church groups already held the second such seminar in East Berlin. A Weimar churchman, on the other hand, says "in our city that would be utterly unthinkable."

These peace workshops operate as open discussion forums and information exchanges complete with information booths on security policy, civil defense or construction soldier units in which conscientious objectors may do a kind of alternative military service without weapons. Party functionaries are welcome and some guests from the West are permitted to attend.

The progress made by the East German peace movement in the space of just one year was in evidence at the second peace workshop held in East Berlin's Church of the Redeemer. The overall motto was "Speak Openly." For 10 hours in July 1983, on an out-of-the-way piece of church property near the Rummelsburg elevated station, a kind of political culture blossomed forth which the 3,000 participants dare only dream about in everyday life.

The entire breadth of the grass roots movement was in evidence--ranging from environmentalists to gay rights and women's rights activists.

A panel discussion marked one of the high points of the event. One of the participants was a functionary of the East German CDU--which was highly unusual for this type of event. This man, Carl Ordnung, who is also a member of the government peace movement, was laughed at when he maintained that the GDR was an internally peaceful nation after all.

Pastor Hans Tschiche from Magdeburg, on the other hand, got a big hand when he told Ordnung: "It simply will not do to call for peace outside and to create a climate of fear and regimentation on the inside. Disobedience alone could make the politicians do "what is reasonable," in Tschiche's view.

The only woman on the panel, who represented the GDR-wide group of "Women for Peace," also got a big hand when she said it was high time to document the will to peace outside the church as well. There should be an end to slander, she said, because "we are not provocateurs incited from the outside."

The attendance by some Western supporters is viewed as something of a problem not only by the churchmen responsible for the event itself but also by many of the participants. The styles are too different and the fear of being suspected of dependency on the class enemy is too great.

"I think it is both regrettable and deplorable to have a foreign guest speak first when we finally manage to get together for a public discussion," a woman from Wittenberg said in criticizing Westerners for taking the floor in the "speakers' corner." She spoke even more plainly in private conversation. "I am under the impression that these people from the West merely come here to show off and that they are not really interested in us. I guess it has become fashionable to be able to say you have been here and have taken part."

The Eastern pacifists also are suspicious of the professional political airs affected by some Western peaceniks. Since they are unable in any event to organize on a big scale under the SED system, moral integrity and personal commitment count for more than political impact.

Those participants in the peace workshop who toed the SED line did not feel very comfortable about the whole thing. Afterwards, they grabbed about the "pacifists fair." Dissidents, they said, had used the free space of a "so-called peace workshop" to join hands with others who think as they do. One representative of the regime-affiliated Christian Peace Conference (CFK) complained that they are already "making proposals for the establishment of a news agency, a supply center and a flexible organization of small, closed groups."

Just how insecure the comrades are they showed by their behavior in Rostock--where there is a large community of church-affiliated peace supporters. Since January of last year, the Protestant student community has been holding a religious service for peace each month. At the start, about two dozen people attended the service; by now, there are as many as 750.

The church invited the FDJ district leadership and the local chapter of the CFK to take part in a panel discussion at a peace seminar on 13 May. It was not the first time; but this time they accepted—the CFK after some hesitation and the FDJ right off. But when the FDJ central council in East Berlin got wind of the affair, the functionaries at headquarters pulled the emergency brake. Shortly before the discussion was to start they sent their regrets.

And yet, relations between the independent peace groups and the FDJ in Rostock had been quite good. In November 1982, the FDJ invited them to take part in a peace-making session at the university cafeteria. The idea was to talk about the twin issues of "creating peace without weapons and armed protection of socialism."

The Rostock Christian youth group put in a full-strength appearance. Gert Wendelborn, a CFK representative, was to be the moderator. "Swords into plowshares" was an "obscure [Bible] quote," a Rostock university theologian told his young Christian brothers—and the FDJ men liked what they heard.

The real debate got going in the vestibule where the FDJ had put up a "peace wall" on which controversial slogans, mottos and symbols were painted. Groups of debaters started forming and discussing all the issues that had been left out in the hall inside.

An additional irritant for the SED leadership and for Erich Mielke's SSD is a group which they themselves called into being—albeit unintentionally. On 1 May 1982, the GDR People's Assembly adopted a new defense law allowing the NVA to draft women, if the need arose.

No more than 6 weeks later, a new activist group had formed: "Women for Peace." It first put in an appearance at the 1982 peace workshop in East Berlin. That fall, the women addressed a letter to Erich Honecker with copies going to the People's Assembly and the council of ministers and saying that there would have to be a popular referendum on the new legislation. The letter bore signatures from Dresden, East Berlin and Halle and the women who signed were mostly church members and artists.

Initially, the government seemed to want to get more information on the new phenomenon. At any rate, it has not hit back hard at the movement as yet.

Only East Berlin painter Baerbel Bohley lost her job on the board of the city's association of artists and feels that she is "under constant pressure" along with some of the other women.

Beyond that, the government seems content to rely on psychological warfare. All over the republic, the women have been called in for conversations or interrogations. At the same time, the SSD worked on the women's husbands on a man-to-man basis--along the lines of "can't you keep a better eye on your wife ?"

The women themselves are subjected to a crude blend of nastiness and open threats by the SSD. "What you are trying to do does not serve any purpose," they will tell them. "Women like you are considered undesirable both in the East and the West. You will always be outsiders. And if we really went by the book, we could get you on paragraph 106"--anti-government activity.

And when the women return home after a morning spent with the "discussion fraction" to find that the "house search fraction" has done its worst in the meantime, they really get mad.

Nonetheless, those subjected to this kind of treatment ascribe it to the "helplessness of the authorities" rather than to a methodical plan. The East Berlin city administration even issued a clean bill of health to the women, calling them reliable citizens.

The authorities sent a courteous reply to a letter protesting against the expatriation of Jena peace fighter Roland Jahn. Saying that Jahn had broken the law, the letter called on the women not to interfere--the more so since their own activities had always conformed to it.

An East Berlin state-owned factory collective treated one of the women employed there with far less sensitivity. She was told that people did not want to work with someone like her any more. The woman, who had signed some protest letters, quit.

"Are you crazy ? Taking up with that bunch ?" were questions frequently addressed to signers of the Honecker letter. And others said: "you are well off; now you are spoiling everything for yourself."

Following the 10 days of peace in late 1981, peace patches appeared on tens of thousands of blouses and shirt sleeves all over. The result were contradictory scenes as on the occasion of the FDJ Whitsun marches. In the streets and in the schoolyards, the VoPos hunted the offenders down; but when these very people got together in churches and churchyards for small or large events, they left them alone.

On 6 August this year--Hiroshima memorial day--14 independent peaceniks gathered in East Berlin's Church of the Redeemer to fast. Another 100 met in the Market Church in Halle and more than a dozen in the town church at Teterow. The "Hohenthurm Christian Women's Group" from Halle had suggested the event as a way of displaying solidarity with those fasting all over the world.

The GDR groups who camped on the altars of the three churches with air mattresses and sleeping bags intended to fast for varying lengths of time. In Teterow and Halle, they were going to fast for 24 hours and in East Berlin for a whole week. There was no trouble with the authorities anywhere as long as they kept to the rules which were not to leave the church premises. In East Berlin, a banner that had been hung outside the church had to be taken down after appearing on the West German TV evening news.

There is one other thing that makes the authorities reach for the panic button and that is any sign that pacifists in East and West are about to join together. Numerous Westerners were refused permission to attend the East Berlin peace workshops both in 1982 and 1983. And when the "European Peace Congress" was held in West Berlin last May, GDR retirees suspected of harboring pacifist views were not given exit permits.

The party also made short shrift of the suggestion to conclude personal peace treaties between individual East and West Germans. Prior to the church congresses in Eisleben and Magdeburg this June, the authorities told the organizers that East-West treaties of this kind were under no circumstances to be publicized--much less concluded.

In the meantime, however, the project has been set in motion by peace groups in Mecklenburg and Saxony. They have issued a joint appeal calling for personal peace treaties among individuals as a way to achieve "disarmament from the bottom up."

The appeal does not contain a uniform treaty text. Instead, the authors offer suggestions for individual letters to be written. The first of these letters, which have been sent across the border by the hundreds by now, simply states: "We solemnly declare that we will not shoot at each other. It is our purpose to promote mutual understanding and confidence; to exchange information and when visiting, to take part in peace demonstrations of the other side."

Private individuals in the FRG have gathered together at "collection points" to help organize the project. The synod of the GDR church league welcomed "spontaneous actions" connected with church efforts for peace as well as these peace letters at its September meeting in Potsdam.

The diverse ways in which the SED leadership has been dealing with the unofficial peace movement seems to indicate that it has (not yet) made up its mind on how to handle these troublemakers. On the one hand, the SED refuses to meet any of the movement's demands; but on the other hand, it has been allowing debates to take place—which are not without danger for the party—on securing peace as opposed to teaching military affairs in the schools and on the ever-present militaristic atmosphere both in the media and in public life.

"Social service for peace" is out of the question, said Klaus Gysi, the state secretary for church affairs on the council of ministers, in an address to students of East Berlin's Humboldt University in September 1981. And yet, the party has been allowing thousands of young people in the GDR to come out in favor of civilian substitute service at church forums and initiatives.

In view of this flexible approach, the only way out for these young people is to seek refuge in an alternative culture, however modest it may be. Since political life is closed to them, the best thing they can do is print postcards with pacifist motifs on them; paint anti-war posters and get together with other peace groups sprouting up all over the country. And they are finding out that a lot of things can actually be done that their parents would never have dared to try.

But such successes, the peace groups fear, may soon be a thing of the past.

"If the Pershing II's and the cruise missiles are deployed in the FRG toward the very tail end of the year, we can still hold our 10 days of peace in November," said a youth pastor in Saxony, taking a bleak view of what comes after. "If Reagan pulls the rug out from under" the GDR government whose policies have been aimed at preventing deployment for years, "then we can close up shop with our little games."

The threat to their own existence has broadened the horizons of the GDR peace groups beyond the immediate confines of the GDR. Initially, they had focused almost exclusively on militarization inside their own country. At the first peace forum in Dresden in February 1982, none of the questions from the audience dealt with Poland, the FRG or with international conflicts. But these days, when the church directs its repeated attacks against Western rearmament it is by no means doing it as a favor to Erich Honecker.

In March, 120 representatives from more than 30 peace groups affiliated with the Berlin-Brandenburg church met at the city youth rectory in East Berlin. They unanimously concurred in the Swedish proposal for a nuclear-free zone along the frontiers dividing the two military blocs in Europe and expressly voiced their support for their own government which has endorsed this plan of Swedish Minister President Olof Palme's.

In April, the GDR church league's theological research division in East Berlin voiced criticism of both German governments, calling on them to cut arms expenditures equally; to send their soldiers home and to turn the money saved over to Poland to help stabilize the situation in Europe.

At the present time, the GDR groups are mulling over the question of how they might have an at least symbolic impact on the Kohl government. The optimists among them are banking on a "certain moral weight we carry in Western public life."

Church leaders of both German states provided support for them at the start of the "hot autumn." In a joint letter to Helmut Kohl and Erich Honecker on the occasion of anti-war day on 1 September, Bishop Johannes Hempel, the head of the GDR church league, and Regional Bishop Eduard Lohse, who heads the council of the Evangelical Church of Germany, called on the two political leaders "to do your utmost within the respective pact systems to assure the success of the Geneva negotiations so that the respective weapons systems can be appreciably reduced and that no further arms buildup takes place in Central Europe."

Over and above their fear of the consequences of deployment, the peace groups are running into some difficulties of their own making. Tens of thousands of young people have joined them in the space of just a few months; but there is a great deal of fluctuation particularly among the more heterogeneous new groupings. There is hardly any coordination or even anything like a regular exchange of information among the various groups. In most cases, they only meet at church congresses. "Back in my village," one 20 year-old participant in the Rostock church meeting told us, "I have to make do for a whole year with what I have experienced here."

In its own way, the official church is making an effort to deal with the expected downturn. Hard-to-deal-with fringe groups are kept out and both pastors and bishops are doing their best to prevent over-politicization of their own activities. Manfred Stolpe, the president of the East Berlin consistory, says "after all, we are not an opposition movement."

The problem of getting exit permits is also a difficult one at times for the church's peace activities. In Jena, which was one of the centers of the peace movement until recently, "15 out of 20 peace activists left," as one peacenik put it. The Jena myth has paled ever since the authorities deported a large group of young dissidents.

Those who want to leave come from afar to demonstrate for a trip to the West on Jena's Cosmonaut Square in the inner city. The ancient university town has gained the reputation of being a 100 percent sure launching pad for a trip to the FRG. Citizens who are tired of the GDR and who think they will better be able to leave the country by posing as peace activists might well undermine the movement's credibility there and elsewhere, the peaceniks fear.

SED intellectuals, who are critical of the system, are well pleased by the urge to the West—not only inside the peace movement but also throughout the entire youth scene. "I am sick and tired of the whole Prenzlauer Berg ambience," one East Berlin scientist said. "Their alternative or artists purism is just a put-on; all they are really interested in is in getting out."

But when they talk this way, they are motivated by the same insecurities which plague the party leadership. Many members of the established intelligentsia are aware of the problems—ranging from environmental protection to nuclear catastrophe—which the alternatives are now pointing out. But for years they thought there was a way of resolving these issues with the help of Marxist ideology.

Now they have to revise their thinking. The young protesters are not so much interested in Karl Marx and Rosa Luxemburg as they are in non-violence idol Gandhi and the Sermon on the Mount. Of late, people have been showing up at youth events and church-sponsored discussions who used to have nothing to do with the church at all.

Preparations for the East Berlin peace workshop, for example, are laid months in advance in dozens of small working groups. Such get-togethers help establish and foster communication between such diverse participants as a woman government psychiatrist and a church grass roots social worker; a biologist and a church environmentalist and a worried party member and a priest.

And there is no dearth of common themes—such as the growing alcohol problem in the GDR; the indifference of the silent majority; the opportunities for independent initiatives.

In spite of these promising beginnings, most of the members of the young GDR peace movement cannot imagine having a major impact on the society-at-large. Anyone asking what the future may hold is presented with a familiar list of problems—people leaving the country; the danger of the government bear-hugging the movement; the shock of the cruise missile deployment.

Many of the church participants in the movement feel that the role into which they have grown over the past 3 years asks too much of them. They view themselves as performing an essentially impossible balancing act on the razor's edge—misunderstood by the government; merchandised by the West; beset by the young people and held back by the church leadership.

How dangerous this balancing act can be became evident to some on 1 September which is celebrated as "World Peace Day" in the GDR.

In various localities the authorities arrested some peace activists but let most of them go after a short time. Those who formed a "peace chain" stretching from the American to the Soviet Embassy in East Berlin were told as they marched on to St Mary's Church on Alexanderplatz: "Next time, things will get serious."

The sentencing of Halle youth deacon Lothar Rochau to 3 years imprisonment and the arrest of Kathrin Eigenfeld, an assistant librarian, who had engaged in "open youth activities" together with Rochau were a bad shock. The women for peace went public with an appeal on their behalf signed by more than 200 persons and churchmen everywhere expressed their concern in conversations with government officials.

The truth is that the SED leadership ought to be grateful to the church, say many Protestant activists. "If the party functionaries only knew how I must sometimes restrain our young people," says one youth social worker, "they really ought to be terrible grateful to us." Like many of his colleagues, he feels he is at times turning into an unwilling advocate of the government. "One might think that I am the only person in this small city who takes care of young people—even when things get difficult," he adds. It is only when the city council feels that he no longer has matters under control that official help is suddenly forthcoming.

He divides the young people into three groups. Those who feel that "soon everything will be down the drain anyway so that I might as well live for a while without making any compromises at least." Others only think about how to get out of the country and then there "still is the largest group that just wants to earn some money and be left in peace."

Wherever one goes in the GDR these days and finds some people willing to talk freely, one soon gets to hear of a "loss of values" and a "crisis of legitimacy of the system." Such conversations are rarely characterized by hostility against the party and the state but far more often by mixed expressions of sadness, helplessness, gallows' humor, indifference and a tendency to wait things out.

"Things are so terribly bogged down," says a man from Rostock. "It is much as it was in the Adenauer era—no experiments. Everybody is happy to get out of the responsibility for this or that affair."

That is why he thinks that the new critical awareness that is developing in the peace movement, the environmental groups and among the party intellectuals is of incalculable value to GDR society. "All these groups are composed of the very people who really give thought to things and feel responsible for this country and for the future of their children. That is why they take part in peace and environmental groups and that is why they go public even if it might hurt them. That is why they no longer continue living a compartmentalized life."

This potential, he says, should not be left to rot; it should not always be suppressed. "But the party has an almost traumatic fear of anything that moves without its assistance. The only thing we can do is to try and patiently convince the party and that will take a long time. For many of us, it will take too long. But the party, too, is made up of human beings. They really must understand some day."

Leading churchmen have also been appealing to the SED functionaries. Bishop Hempel, who worries about growing bitterness and disappointment among the population, has warned of a "self-inflicted atrophy of the creative potential" of society.

Many young people—especially those who have been harshly dealt with at one time or another—have long since ceased being patient and it is not just the punks who refer to the establishment types as "mummies."

Another person we talked to who seemed frustrated was a resolute member of a stable peace group in the southern part of the republic. "Most of them are quite content," she says, referring to the silent majority in the workers and peasants state. "They have their hands full working hard for their Trabant and their living room couch."

A Dresden functionary of the Cultural League even worries about latent hatred on the part of ordinary citizens of intellectuals, artists and outsiders. "It would not even take 3 months for some beautiful witch hunts to start," he says.

If that man had heard some young people talk at the East Berlin "Rock for Peace" festival in January, he might even think about putting a safety lock on his door. "Don't just complain and get drunk—do your hammer and sickle work," read one sign there. And when we asked two apprentices what they thought of it, they said: "That's easy. If everyone would do some honest work, we would all be better off." And one of them added: "I've had it up to here with these dissenters and gripers. They should do some work—that's all there is to it!"

That is how the SED slogan "do good work and you will get your just reward" plays down at the grass roots level.

A Kassel youth group which visited Thuringia in 1982 noted with some alarm how an East German pacifist group was treated in a small town near Eisenach. When the East German youngsters ordered some beer at an inn, the innkeeper refused to serve them. "Greenjackets! Asocial riffraff!" he yelled at them. "You won't get anything to drink from me. Get out of here!"

Many a party leader may not be averse to basking if not in the love of the people for their government, then at least in the hatred of the masses for the dissenters. The twin-track harmony composed of anti-Polish sentiments from below and anti-reformist propaganda from above that was prevalent during the strikes in Poland gave a good indication how that works and that indeed it does.

But this kind of intellectual zero option will not get the SED very far any more. Creative potentials--that were entirely unplanned--have matured in the GDR. The activists simply assume the right to act on their own in public; they feel they have it coming.

"I was not asked what my feelings were about the Pershing II's and the SS-20's; but I am speaking out anyway," said an elderly cleric at the Potsdam synod. The young people feel this way anyway.

The SED will have to learn that domestic normalization which it has sought for 30 years has a price attached to it--a certain measure of variety and colorfulness; some free space for creativity and imagination.

So far, only the church is offering this kind of free space to the restless younger generation. But in the long run, the young people will not be satisfied by mere drydock exercises in the church naves. If the SED does not open up soon, the number of young people may quickly grow who will be taking the dum-dee-dum lyrics of the West German rock group "Trio" for their theme: "G-D-R, I love you not; you love me not."

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GUIDELINES ON ELECTIVE COURSES IN HIGH SCHOOL

East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG in German No 39, 30 Sep 83 p 5

[Interview with Heinz Lorenz, Staff member in Dept. of Instruction, Ministry for Public Education, by DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The new directive (VuM [directives and information] No 4/83) went into effect on 1 September 1983. It rescinded the "Directive on Introducing Skeleton Programs for the Activity of Social Science, Scientific-Technical and Cultural-Artistic Working Teams of Grades 9 and 10 at Secondary Schools" of 1969. In what connection was this step taken?

[Answer] Directive No 10/83 at the start of the 1983/84 school year, in conformity with the guideline issued by the Eighth Pedagogic Congress, marks a decisive turning-point in the long-range development of instruction in electives in the upper grades of our socialist secondary school.

As you know, in the 1970/71 school year, together with the new instruction plans for 9th grade at the time, we started introducing working teams along skeleton programs. That step was significant for structuring the education and training process of the 10-grade general education polytechnical secondary school. It aimed at creating prerequisites, in accordance with requirements and opportunities, for an education that would deepen and expand our mandatory general education in selected areas of knowledge and activity. Everybody knows that in many respects, while using the experiences, especially, of the Soviet school, we entered virgin territory there. That pertained to the structuring of programs and the selection of subject matters as well as to the school-organizational, pedagogic and didactic-methodological approach to AG(R) [Working Teams along Skeleton Programs] activity. Since then we have had more than 10 years of experience.

Today it is an accepted fact that electives have become a reality at all secondary schools. Most 9th and 10th graders enroll in such courses. Thanks to the efforts made by principals, the pedagogues' collectives and many social forces, the continuity and quality of those courses have perceptibly improved in most schools. That is demonstrated, not least, by the ever more solid integration of this educational sector with the overall educational process, the weekly and annual school curricula, the systematic pedagogic direction of those courses and, above all, in the results of training and education found among many pupils.

It may also be said that, while differences still exist, the potentials inherent in this form of learning and being active are ever more effectively being exploited in the upper grades for contributing to a differentiated deepening and expansion of general education, for furthering the pupils' creativeness, enhancing their self-reliance and sense of responsibility, stimulating socially valuable interests and, hence, enriching the personality.

#### Steps Toward Forming a High School Profile

That turns this educational area into an indispensable school element which goes a long way toward taking part in forming our high school profile. Relying on that, the Central Directors Conference, as one knows, had emphatically focused on using the experiences gained and the favorably developing personnel, pedagogic and material conditions and opportunities on behalf of further raising the quality of the AG(R) level, whereby to take the necessary steps toward developing electives.

Here we certainly cannot ignore that this has a connection with the task of principle to improve the quality and effect of all education and training and all pedagogic work in view of the social requirements for all pupils' personality development.

In short: With the new guideline and transformation of AG(R) as it has been into elective courses we are taking an important step toward forming the profile of the standard socialist school--and this in terms of what we have learned from Marxist-Leninist pedagogics and educational policy. Remember what Lunacharsky said at the third conference of the Central All-Union Executive Council in September 1920: "By unity school we do not mean a uniform school. Uniform it is in the sense of the right to attend it and graduate from it. At the same time we are of the opinion that this school will be multiform, especially on its second level" ("A. Lunacharsky About Public Education," APW publishing house of the RSFSR, Moscow, p 124).

Entirely in those terms the law on our unified socialist educational system says: "The uniformity in the objective and structure of the socialist educational system entails differentiations in educational approaches in the upper grades, in accordance with social requirements and individual qualifications" (GB1 [legal gazette] Part I No 6/1965 p 83).

In resolutely pursuing the course charted by the education law, the SED Program and at the Eighth Pedagogic Congress and the Central Directors Conference, for ever more effectively opening up, on the basis of a high and solid level of uniform general education, opportunities for its differentiated deepening and expansion in the form of elective courses, we enrich the entire education and training process and greatly contribute to implementing our school objectives.

[Question] Which demands does the directive set down in school policy and in substance?

[Answer] Undoubtedly we must take for granted that the progressive positions and tasks set down in the directive reflect both the stage of development attained and the demands that still have to be realized in the future. As already explained, in the years back important experiences were gathered for shaping electives that have crystallized in the new directive. Thus the document, along with defining the area of application (Article 1), clearly defines, above all, the goals and tasks of elective courses (Article 2) in that they have a general education function and the task "to help provide the pupils with a higher level of general education, open up opportunities for a differentiated deepening and expansion of general education that comes from mandatory instruction, and include new science and technology data and knowledge about social development flexibly in the education and training of school youth." That then also illuminates their contribution to differentiation and greater flexibility in the upper grades.

#### Elective Courses--A Form of Instruction

An essential element of further qualitative development lies in the resolute orientation to teaching and acquiring solid systematic knowledge and skills, and hence to shaping the character of elective courses as a form of instruction. Undoubtedly that is the crucial point of departure in principle that leads farther, through which this specific form of learning by the older pupils also differs substantively from forms of extracurricular work. Without wishing to ignore the special possibilities inherent in that area of education and the specifics of the organization and structure in that process, it now means coming ever better to grips with the substantive, pedagogic and didactic-methodological demand made on the character of instruction. That sets ambitious tasks for the manner in which those courses are to be conducted in practice as well as for the further expansion of central program offers and the pedagogic-methodological orientation. Our pedagogic science has to attend to that much more as well.

Defining this objective makes clear that the further development of AG(R) into elective courses is not merely a matter of terminology. Rather, it is a qualitative demand made on the direction, shaping and substantive profiling as a standard component of instruction and education. And the following requirements are of special importance for it:

- A pedagogically planned and effective selection of elective courses at every school in terms of substantive proportions and the needs resulting from the pupils' requirements and the guidance of their requirements, including long-range preparation and meaningful pedagogic guidance for the pupils' decisions to deliberately take part in it, with due respect for the principle of voluntariness;
- ensuring high substantive-pedagogic and organizational continuity and stability as a component of shoring up all instruction according to plan; and
- enforcing a level of planning and structured learning and working in specialized sciences, pedagogics, didactics and methods as it suits any given program, and steadily qualifying the teaching staffs employed for coping with these demands.

[Question] In view of the orientation on which the directive is based, to turn the previous AG(R) into elective courses in every way, some new accents are likely to have been set in connection with it which might have to be given attention.

[Answer] You are right about that, especially since a correct understanding is possible only if one recognizes as clearly as possible when one studies the document what stands up and what leads farther. Without wishing to comment on all the stipulations in the directive, the following ought to be pointed out:

--Article 6 of the directive specifies the stipulations for the planning and shaping of the process of instruction in elective courses in accordance with experiences and scientific insights gained. It is more clearly being emphasized that also in elective courses learning must be systematic, that such learning should be closely linked with practically applying what has been learned, that a high level of activity and independence on the part of the pupils ought to be sought, and that great attention should be paid to differentiated work with individual pupils or groups of pupils. It was also emphasized that the instruction in those courses must be planned on the basis of the stipulations in the programs, which enhances the effectiveness of the orientation in the skeleton programs with their mandatory and variable stipulations. That requires surmounting manifestations, still found at the present, of considerable deviations from the skeleton programs or of one-sided emphases. For this reason and because elective courses have to receive a higher quality of substance, the principals were charged with a higher responsibility for planning the instruction in those courses in that they have to confirm annually the working plans of the teaching staffs.

--Article 6, which regulates the handling of elective courses in schools or territories, sets down, in conformity with experiences gained, that each high school must make available a stable and comprehensive set of electives in various fields. Obviously, pupils find the most favorable conditions for expanding and deepening their general education above and beyond their mandatory instruction at those schools where they can enrol either in a natural science and technology course, in mathematics or social sciences, in the arts or Russian conversation and so forth.

In that regard, experiences in many schools have shown that in deciding on what kind of a program one is to offer one should always be sure to ensure high stability and quality. That means that when one sets up a course one must know whether for conducting it the necessary conditions are in place.

#### Organizational Stipulations

Not less important is the unequivocal rule that electives have to be listed in the school's course schedule and must be given as all other instruction from the first to the last day of school in ninth grade or up to the 25th week of instruction in 10th grade uninterruptedly.

[Question] How has the new directive further developed the rules on class attendance in accordance with the experiences gathered and the higher substantive demands made in this part of education?

[Answer] As to attendance, dealt with by Article 5 of the directive, one has taken over suitable regulations such as the principle of voluntariness and the meaningful pedagogic guidance and preparation for the pupils' decisions at the end of eighth grade. It was also unequivocally laid down that pupils, after

having opted for a course, have to stick to it all the way to the end of two school years for the sake of systematic and effective training and education work. Pupils and their parents should be made fully aware of this before they make their decision, as experienced principals have emphasized, even though the directive allows for some modifications for exceptional cases that are pedagogically justified.

A new rule of principle pertains to the composition of the various courses because the idea that only pupils in the same grade can attend such a course did not work. Whether a pupil of one or both grades can take such a course principally depends on the substantive logic, systematics and subject matter sequence of the skeleton programs and also on concrete conditions (the attractiveness of the school and the number of attendants). This decision can therefore be made at each high school only by the principal himself, together with the teaching staff, of course. The point that is worth emphasizing is that in either case the systematic instruction for each attending pupil has to be guaranteed. The directive took over the rule on minimum enrolment, which has worked well since 1975. New is that for uniform high schools with low class frequencies, going below the minimum may be authorized by the school councillor in charge to give those pupils also the chance to opt for a variety of courses.

[Question] Can you say something about making sure there is enough personnel for teaching these elective courses?

[Answer] In conformity with the regulations of the RKV [skeleton collective labor agreement] for public education and communal vocational training institutions, of 15 April 1983 (special issue), and on the basis of the steadily improving personnel conditions, the statements on making sure there are enough teachers for elective courses were made more specific--the rules are contained in Article 7--in order to meet the higher scientific and pedagogic-methodological requirements for elective courses. So it was set down unequivocally that the assignment of teachers for elective courses has to be planned while preparing the school year--most are teachers in specialized fields, and it all depends on the substantive demands the programs make (e.g. in the practical productivity sector), and there also are social specialists--and many specialists for elective courses teach courses in their own regular specialties even at variable hours. Then the directive also includes regulations that make higher demands on continuing education for the specialists among the teachers while they work and teach in this system of courses. That is necessary to meet the higher scientific, didactic-methodological and pedagogic demands of elective courses at their broad range and to achieve greater stability in the assignment of teachers for elective courses.

#### Pedagogic Direction

[Question] Applying the directive on elective courses is likely to also make higher demands on directing the processes at each school.

[Answer] Quite so. The starting point must be the realization that fulfilling the social mission of our school--developing a high level of general education and social activity in each pupil--calls for the unity between mandatory and elective instruction in the upper grades.

Through the developmental step stipulated in the directive elective instruction thus becomes firmly integrated in instruction as a whole and in its complex direction. And what applies to all pedagogues collectives--not only to the specialists assigned to this particular task--is that they deepen their requisite theoretical comprehension. We have to understand that elective courses not just amount to some extra task, but that this developmental step envisages a new quality of learning as such, a differentiated deepening and expansion of the pupils' general education in accordance with social requirements, and also a higher grade of pedagogic work with the older pupils, as was demanded at the Central Directors Conference.

This is what each school has to give thorough thought to in concrete terms:

- As to the measures needed for preparing pupils' decisions on long range--watching and guiding the pupils' educational interests, making sure the pupils take part in it consciously and are motivated for it;
- as to resolving the tasks in organizing a process of systematic study in the elective courses--a systematic and outcome-oriented organization of the appropriation process, gaining much knowledge, skill and education;
- as to the activity concept for older pupils in these elective courses--opening up broad opportunities for the pupils' mental and intellectual-practical activities and self-reliance, while instructors retain their pedagogic guidance;
- and creating the requisite personnel conditions, which includes targeted continuing education for the pedagogues who are assigned to it over the long haul.

For applying these tasks the directive provides the legal framework. It is up to every pedagogues collective and principal to convert it into concrete terms. It is up to us to ensure a high level of elective courses in each high school while relying on the experiences we have gained, an ambitious task indeed, and tap further reserves on behalf of the pupils' learning and development.

May all those pedagogues have much success who are engaged in this field of education.

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CSO: 2300/87

HUNGARY

HUNGARIAN SECRETARY OF STATE ON MADRID CSCE

AU161726 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Janos Nagy, State Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:  
"Favorable Signs From Madrid"]

[Text] The Spanish capital was the scene of an important event last week. After almost 3 years the Madrid conference closed successfully with the adoption of a rich and balanced final document. At the closing session the participants--our country among the others--were represented by foreign ministers, a fact that in itself shows the political importance of the conference's outcome. Since the 1975 Helsinki summit meeting there has not been a meeting of the European and North American representatives at such a high level; they used their stay in Madrid for bilateral talks as well.

How can the Madrid agreement be assessed? Can we expect an improvement of the international and European situation in particular.

The international situation already at the start of the Madrid conference was characterized by an increase of tension and the efforts directed against both relaxation and East-West dialogue grew stronger and stronger. It had to be taken into consideration that the extremist circles would use the conference for confrontation purposes and accusations against the socialist countries. There was no hope for a true, big step forward given the current international situation, compared to the final document of Helsinki which was worked out under much more favorable circumstances. It was advisable to stress safeguarding the achievements made in East-West relations, preventing further deterioration of the European situation, and furthering the process of European security. That was the main task of the Hungarian delegation too, and it strived constantly for promoting a constructive conclusion of the conference.

The socialist countries considered the main task the convening of the European disarmament conference. As a result of the growing danger of the arms race, the heavy burden and risk of military confrontation and due to the NATO efforts to achieve military superiority, the socialist countries saw the most urgent need for progress and creation of a new forum for negotiation. The negotiations, which proved even longer and more difficult than previously anticipated, have produced, after all, a final document which does not fall short of our expectations. The document assures the continuation of the process of European security and cooperation which is the basis of the East-West relations. The

agreement on the convening of the conference on disarmament enables the broadening of the forums for negotiations. As a whole, the document proves that it is possible to achieve results at international meetings if the principle of equality and mutual interests are taken into consideration. The politics of force, attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, are doomed to failure.

The final document of Madrid is one of compromise. Several elements do not properly reflect our position and efforts. We have agreed on it, though, with all its stipulations, on the assumption that this document represents the maximum attainable under the given circumstances. And it was obvious too, that failure would benefit the enemies of detente and the trend of confrontation in global politics. Even had it not caused the interruption of the European security process, it would have had a harmful influence on the conditions for maintaining and strengthening bilateral relations.

The socialist countries' desire for agreement and their attitude which enabled the preservation of the conference's normal atmosphere would not have been enough alone for the successful conclusion. The agreement needed a partner: that the Western participants' behavior should reflect the interest to maintain the above-mentioned process and the desire to safeguard East-West relations. The final document is a compromise from the point of view of the member states of the Western alliance, too. They had to refrain from proposals and parts of text which were unacceptable to other countries. NATO's West European members played an important role in this. These states felt directly the advantages of detente and of East-West relations and cooperation in the seventies. Because of this experience the positive elements in their attitude became stronger and the desire for a successful conclusion of the conference prevailed.

The neutral and nonaligned countries have rendered the cause of European detente a great service. Throughout, they pursued a positive activity that furthered and encouraged resolution. Even at tense and critical moments of the meeting, they urged a continuation of substantive work. On two occasions, they submitted a draft final document, in which they supplemented passages of the text that had already been collated with proposals involving a compromise that ironed out differences between the socialist and Western positions. The picture would not be complete if we failed to note with recognition the efforts made by the host Spanish Government in the last phase of the meeting toward steps necessary for reaching an agreement.

Following the structure of the Helsinki Final Act, the document endorsed in Madrid defines the tasks in expanding cooperation in the areas of interstate relations, security, the economy, humanitarian measures, culture, and information in the form of an assumption of a moral and political commitment. Its main merit is that it encompasses the member countries' renewed commitment to the Helsinki Final Act and European security and cooperation. Ultimately, the recommendations made by certain Western circles with a confrontationist objective and the intention to intervene in the socialist countries' domestic affairs in some cases--particularly on issues of human rights, humanitarianism,

and information--have been included in the Madrid document to a measure and in a formulation acceptable for everyone.

It is traditional in the European security process that experts of the participating countries discuss some specific areas of interstate relations and cooperation from time to time. The Madrid final document envisions experts' conferences or European events of a similar nature on seven spheres of topics. Including preparatory discussions necessary in some cases, there will be 11 consultations in the 3 years remaining until the next--the Vienna--meeting.

Convening a conference devoted to European confidence and security-building measures and to disarmament, which will begin its work in the capital of Sweden in January next year, is undoubtedly the most important specific result of the Madrid meeting. In the first phase of the conference, so-called confidence and security-building measures will be discussed and endorsed, supplementing the recommendations laid down in the Helsinki Final Act. The November 1986 Vienna meeting will pass a decision on a continuation of the conference and the convening of its second phase devoted to aspects of disarmament and arms limitation.

Thus, there is no question yet of an actual reduction of the military forces and armaments in Europe. Therefore, it would not be realistic to expect the conference to resolve the most urgent problems of arms limitation instead of the already functioning bilateral and multilateral negotiating forums. The purpose of confidence-building measures is to make it unmistakable for other countries that there is no intention to launch an attack and lessen the outbreak of an armed conflict arising from a technical malfunction or an erroneous interpretation of the situation.

Confidence-building measures are highly significant. We regard them as important means for alleviating the danger of a conflict, as a possibility for the development of a more favorable atmosphere for agreement serving an actual limitation of armament. They fulfill their purpose insofar as they promote a reduction of the military forces and armaments opposing each other. Consequently, even if it cannot take over their place, the Stockholm conference can complement and stimulate the arms limitation talks in progress in a valuable manner.

Of the deliberations following the Madrid meeting, the cultural forum to be held in October 1985 in Budapest deserves to be mentioned separately. It is an honor for us that the participants in the meeting made the decision to hold the forum in Hungary without any objections. This decision constitutes a recognition of our country's good international reputation, Hungarian cultural achievements, and our active participation in international cultural life and the exchange of artistic values.

In staging the cultural forum, we have assumed a responsible task. We will welcome the representatives of the participating countries' culture in Budapest. We will do everything in our power to make this meeting, which will be of a unique kind, successful and strongly prove the viability of the Helsinki spirit.

Also included in the program for the coming 3 years is a conference of experts on the issues concerning the peaceful solution of international disputes and a seminar on Mediterranean economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation. In 1985 there will be a commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final document. We are confident that the participants, with the active contribution of the Finnish hosts, will strive to fill with positive political content the formalities of the memorial day.

The participants at the Madrid conference have agreed to include in the agenda two particularly controversial issues. The representatives of the participating states will hold a conference of experts on human rights in Canada, and on relations among people, organizations, and institutions at the invitation of the Swiss Government.

The program established in Madrid is truly rich under the circumstances. Each and every meeting planned can be used for the advancement of European security and cooperation, but--as we have so frequently experienced in Madrid--for blocking East-West cooperation and increasing tension and confrontation, too. Hungary gave its approval to all the new conferences included in the final document. We will prepare for all of them in good faith and with a desire to contribute both to the Stockholm conference and the cultural forum as well as to the conference of experts on human rights and on relations among people, organizations, and institutions.

The successful conclusion of the Madrid conference has been the first major East-West agreement in years. It cannot, however, bring a positive turning point in the international situation on its own. We cannot consider it a starting point towards an easing of the current tension-filled period. But it can undoubtedly contribute to establishing more favorable condition for change as it assures contact, dialogue, and continuation of negotiations between all those states interested in reducing tension, in furthering detente, and creating a more peaceful and more secure Europe for the benefit of all of them. The Hungarian People's Republic is, therefore, greeting and receiving with satisfaction the successful conclusion of the Madrid conference, as well as the meeting of foreign ministers that officially declared this conclusion.

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HUNGARY

OPPOSITION PRESENTS PROGRAM TO RESOLVE ECONOMIC CRISIS

Theory and Analysis

Vienna GEGENSTIMMEN in German No 12/4, Summer 83 p 18

/Text/ In the latest issue of BESZELÓ, the editors offer the public the provisional climax of a debate that began with an article by Janos Kis, "Reflections on the Immediate Future"--see GEGENSTIMMEN Nos 9 and 10/1982 and the article "The Outsider," GEGENSTIMMEN No 11/1983. The draft program to hand, "To Find a Way out of the Crisis--The BESZELÓ Proposals," represents a major political step forward because, for the first time, we note an explicit claim for developing crisis solving proposals on a programmatic basis.

The BESZELÓ suggestions are also unique in the history of East European opposition: A resolutely reformist program is here developed for the first time. It is the aim of the demands and also the general conception to persuade that section of the bureaucratic apparatus likely to be open minded about reforms. Proposals are proffered, designed in a positive direction to extend, expand and reinforce the special features of the Hungarian situation.

It is striking that, in contrast to earlier debates in the ranks of the Hungarian opposition, the concept of the necessity of autonomy vis-a-vis the regime seems to have been abandoned. To some extent this is not hard to understand: The authors assume that economic reforms are imperative, that they will release a dynamism bound to enlarge the social scope. They fully expect a response from the reformist intelligentsia inside the apparatus. This consideration may be strongly affected by the circumstance that BESZELÓ has not yet succeeded in establishing contacts to the Hungarian working class.

This general context may also explain some defects of the draft program: At the micro level it approves the reforms already initiated and, in part, even carried out; at the macro level BESZELÓ stops at the (doubtlessly important) demand for "publicity." But what are the social achievements to be retained?

The years since 1968, when the first economic reforms were introduced, have yielded sufficient experiences that are not taken into account in the text to hand. The agitators in the party and state leadership, for example, were able to refer to very real grievances by broad sections of the working class at the time they abandoned the reform experiment.

The question arises whether the authors of this program may not have miscalculated when constantly equating economic reforms with social opening. Their proposals and demands are largely based on this perception. Is not another prospect possible, admitting of economic reforms without necessarily coupling them with liberalization?

The mere existence of this draft program represents a major step forward. Unfortunately the direction aimed at may all too easily lead to a dead end. The acid test for the BESZEL0 group will arise when socially autonomous initiatives evolve, and they will be compelled to clearly decide for one or the other side--the autonomous groups or sections of the apparatus.

#### Program for Crisis Resolution

Vienna GEGENSTIMMEN in German No 12/4, Summer 83 pp 19-22

#### /Text/ The BESZEL0 PROPOSALS

The Hungarian economy is in crisis. The national income has barely risen since 1979, investments have declined, the drop in demand has resulted in the shrinkage of the output of some leading industries, others need to restrict their operations due to financial cuts or the shortage of materials and replacement parts. Consumer prices are rising faster than incomes, while the standard of services and heating is steadily deteriorating. Emergency measures adopted by the authorities are disrupting enterprise management. Abrupt price increases upset household budgets every time.

In the 1960's and 1970's society had become accustomed to the general improvement in living conditions being interrupted only temporarily by an occasional reverse. At the present time, though, it must accommodate itself to a permanent decline. This fact darkens the general mood and also changes general expectations vis-a-vis the state. As long as everything went well, the large majority were satisfied that economic affairs were evidently managed by people with much expertise and good will. Nobody was much interested in the nuts and bolts of economic management. The crisis offers a serious challenge to this unconditional confidence. For society to continue trusting the capability of the leadership, it must be presented with a clear and persuasive program of action. In post-1978 Hungary this wish is well met in some respects, not at all in others.

The pronouncements by the managing bodies intimate something like a "government economic program,"--in the short term to restrict imports (unless settled in rubles) and increase corresponding exports; in the long term to continue pursuing the reforms of the new economic mechanism, introduced in 1968 but interrupted in the 1970's. The short-term measures are designed to maintain the country's external payment capacity--even at the price of a drop in the growth rate and the disintegration of the tradition order of production and consumption. The aim of the long-term reform, by contrast, would be the creation of a mechanism capable of maintaining the external equilibrium of the economy without restrictions or disruptions.

The portent of this program is to be welcomed--indeed it is the first official program since the mid-1960's to promise institutional changes with a great impact. We should have expected it, therefore, to stir up public opinion considerably. Unfortunately it has at best aroused some faint interest, and while it would be understandable for those whose interests are liable to be most adversely affected by the reforms not to register wild enthusiasm, why do even those who stand to benefit merely shrug their shoulders in resignation?

Partly, we suppose, due to the foreign political situation: In view of the worldwide stagnation, the tremors in the international credit system and the decline in CEMA development and trade relations, who could expect a miracle to happen in Hungary, a country that is so very sensitive to foreign trade relations? Partly also because the state leadership--however much it may talk of significant reforms--is able to promise only a very modest improvement: That the decline may, perhaps, stop in a few years' time, and that we will then be able slowly to return to approximately the 1978 standard of living. Another factor--even in these worsening circumstances the government acts toward society exactly as it used to in better days. It insists that it has been carrying on a correct policy since 1957, and that mistakes have occurred--if at all--in actual implementation. It endeavors to continue the present debates on restrictions and reforms behind closed doors or by way of window-dressing committees. The public is informed only of final decisions that have received official blessing. The government never mentions the inevitable sacrifices, it packages disagreeable facts in ambiguous circumlocutions. Labeling its deliberations a social debate, it submits its own plans of action to bodies that, in the eyes of the people, represent the state, not society. The government does not even try for a compromise between the social strata involved, with respect to who is supposed to shoulder what burdens of the crisis and the readjustment. We can predict where this half-heartedness is going to lead us: Due to the lack of social backing, the reform proposals will decline into bureaucratic haggling within the ruling apparatus: Anything surviving and finally resolved upon could easily be manipulated by the practiced partnership between the managers of major enterprises, government officials and functionaries of regional party organizations.

The BESZELO proposals outline a development of the reform debate, that assigns the public a greater and more active role. What, basically, do we expect of it? We do not by any means believe that the state leadership is going to be avid for our proposals. After all, it is not giving any indication that it would prefer to handle society in any other than the customary manner; it insists on the traditional method of exercising power, and it dislikes changing its political style.

Still, it is part and parcel of that style for the government to make an effort at gaining the good will of important groups in society--in the first line by securing for them more liberal earning opportunities and a better supply of goods to spend those earnings on than elsewhere in Eastern Europe. It also knows that--even if it were to succeed in avoiding financial collapse without an excessive drop in living standards--the Hungarian economy requires far reaching reforms to emerge from the permanent danger zone. It may, therefore, be worth while to confront the state leadership with the imperatives it will have to deal with if it wishes to maintain the general calm and help the reform to succeed. It may also be worth while to remind it of its own earlier choice--to initiate changes--, and not only at a time when social unrest compels them to do so.

Of course it is not enough if we--the editors and staff of a small magazine--are the only ones to speak up, but it would not help much either if we were simply to whisper in the ears of some trustworthy people: The state leadership can be mobilized only when public opinion puts it under moral and intellectual pressure. Our proposals are intended to contribute, and we are therefore submitting them to the public.

In the first section we deal with the issue how to organize economic data in a more acceptable form and make economic debates accessible to a wider public. The second section offers proposals regarding the renewal of the institutions representing various interests. In the third section we deal with the legal conditions of a well functioning publicity and associations. In the fourth section, finally, we provide the model of a possible reform of magazine and book publishing, showing how we imagine the gradual realization of our proposals to proceed

Section I is most closely concerned with the problems of crisis management and the reform of the economic mechanism. Later on we increasingly emphasize the backgrounds involved in the resolution of the outstanding problems. Our proposals are not detailed. Indeed, on all points we go only far enough to give the clearest possible indication of the direction we need to take. This results in some imbalances: The proposal on the drafting of an information law (I.1), for example, is far less detailed than the one referring to the legal security of the citizen (III.3).

## I.

The facts of the economic situation and the work on the preparation of reforms should be publicized

1. The National Assembly should enact an information law that precisely defines about what (and in what form) the government must inform the public in detail. It would prescribe, among others:
  - a) That it must provide at least every 6 months properly detailed data about the economic situation, complete with comparable and interpretable data (inclusive of the dimension of borrowing abroad and the distribution of debt repayments in terms of time);
  - b) That it must officially announce all changes in foreign trade relations, that the government needs to counteract with emergency decrees, for example
    - If any trading partner fails to meet his delivery obligations,
    - If, due to the slackening of demand on the world market, one or the other domestic industry is compelled to cut back production;
  - c) That the public receives appropriate information about government emergency measures: If, for example, the authorities seek relief by a general restriction of imports, they should announce
    - Which state administrative agency is to be given powers to assess enterprise import demands,

-- How long these powers are to last, and how they will be exercised,

-- To whom it is responsible.

2. The government should set up an advisory council composed of independent experts, which would publicly appraise the economic situation of the country and the measures of the economic management apparatus every 3-4 months.

-- We would consider it useful if the government were to appoint no more than half this body, while the other members were duly elected delegates of scientific institutions and technical organizations.

-- The conclusions of this body should be published in the technical press and reported by the daily papers. The minutes of meetings might be published from time to time.

3. The work of the reform committees, working on behalf of party and government, should proceed in public.

-- The public should be informed of the bodies set up, their assignments, members and the administrative agency on whose behalf they prepare their reports.

-- The public should be informed about the bylaws of the reform committees; their reports should be published in the press, and any interested citizen ought to be able to inspect the documents on which the discussions were based.

4. The documents of the reform committees and the proposed advisory council should be discussed in public. Individuals as well as voluntary study groups should be able to attend these debates.

-- The conditions for a smooth functioning of these study groups should be secure; they ought to be able to present their views in clubs, technical associations and the press.

-- The proper conditions should be created for them to be able to submit their analyses and proposals for discussion by the advisory council or a reform committee.

## II.

The issue of the group to be chosen to handle particular burdens due to the crisis and the measures to cope with them should be the topic of a social debate.

1. Based on all thoroughly considered alternatives, a public debate should decide the kind and extent of inequality society is willing to accept in the interest of managing the crisis and the success of the reforms.

a) Each proposal would be expected to show at least in rough outline for which social groups and to what extent it would raise income inequality, and to what extent it would involve unemployment, and what type. Equally to be expected would be a rough sketch of the suggestions how to equalize these consequences by sociopolitical measures, such as unemployment compensation and retraining.

b) The trade associations and unions of repeatedly disadvantaged groups must be included in the process of discussion even before the one or other alternative takes effect. They must be granted the means for their spokesmen--on behalf of the interested parties--to be able to help influence any decision.

c) Wherever possible, decisions must be taken in public and the ultimate decision-making opportunity granted those affected: If, for example, the state is no longer willing to assume the budgetary burden of a subsidy for an enterprise in deficit, it might offer the workers several choices:

-- They insist on keeping their jobs and, in return, accept that their wages will remain the same for an unlimited period or might even drop;

-- They accept temporary unemployment in return for an appropriate compensation and expect secure unemployment relief and training opportunities;

-- Or (if circumstances on the job allow), they take over their workshops in cooperative ownership.

The greatest difficulty would be caused if the state did not, at the time, have a social partner for such a major settlement. That is why

2. A fundamental reform of the system of trade associations and unions is needed. The renewal of the lowest levels of the labor union hierarchy appears to be the most urgent task.

a) It would be up to the National Council of Labor Unions (SZOT) to draft a new charter ensuring that union spokesmen are in fact responsible to their electors. Some sensible basic principles:

-- All spokesmen to be elected by secret ballot, no predetermined list of candidates to be drawn up. Elected representatives to be recalled only by their electors; superior organs may do no more than suggest their removal;

-- The spokesmen, made independent thereby, return to their former jobs at the end of their term of office. Only with the approval of their electors (granted by secret ballot) may they join the apparatus of a union organization or take a better job in their former work place;

-- The superior union organs may provide the enterprise spokesmen merely with counsel, suggestions or information; they may not issue instructions. They may ban only such initiatives as are likely to conflict with the law or the statutes of the labor union;

-- The enterprise union committees may not be urged to organize work competitions or other productivity campaigns.

b) It would be the duty of the National Conference to draft a labor union law that

-- Would reorganize the procedure for the arbitration of conflicts of interest,

-- Would decide the legal methods of the exercise of pressure and, among others, settle the open question of the right to strike,

-- Would be concerned with the effective protection of enterprise spokesmen,

-- Define just when the labor unions are authorized to request negotiations or initiate actions.

c) It would be just as useful for the government at the same time to state clearly the type of demands the Hungarian economy is now able to sustain. However, such a statement would serve as no more than a signpost and should not have mandatory nature; otherwise it would be no more than a voluntary restriction of the rights just acquired. Should, on the other hand, the state leadership be prepared to ensure some scope for reasonable requests and justified agreements, it need not fear intemperate claims likely to destroy the economy.

d) The proposals just offered might be expanded by adding that, after a certain period (say 2-3 years), both the trade unions and the National Assembly and Government might review the experiences gained by the trade union reform and consider how gradually to extend them to higher levels of the union hierarchy.

3. In some sectors it would be expedient to set up new union organs:

a) Social groups may require special union organs if the security of their existence is threatened by the economic crisis to a greater than average extent:

-- The group most threatened is that of social security pensioners who are now scattered among the various union branches;

-- The gypsies represent an equally large and threatened category as concerns their income situation, employment, and so on. Though the Gypsies' disadvantaged situation is intimately related to their ethnic descent, they still do not have a union of their own;

-- Lastly an example of a smaller but also endangered and defenseless group: Unemployed high school and university graduates who live off occasional work.

b) Also required will be an association of the various small private enterprises admitted since 1 January 1982.

4. The legal prerequisites for voluntary social and charitable aid must be regulated. Aid for the poor or other needy people must not be a state monopoly. Charitable initiatives are needed even in the most general welfare states, because the state and its cumbersome apparatus is not able to penetrate everywhere, while the more flexible initiative groups can easily manage to provide assistance.

-- Whether we like it or not, we need to acknowledge that such charitable initiatives tend largely to be organized around religious groups and congregations. A situation must therefore be provided to ensure that they are not persecuted (as has been the case before) for alleged efforts at religious organization.

-- Legal opportunities should also be secured for lay initiative groups who join together for a specific purpose or an unlimited period, allowing them to initiate the collection of gifts, organize benefits or provide legal advice offices.

### III.

The political system of the institutions should respond to the requirements of the constitutional state

1. The significance of the legislative power should be enhanced and its representative nature strengthened.

a) The role of decrees, resolutions and instructions issued by the executive in the creation of legal standards should be reduced. The preparatory work on draft legislation should be brought before the public and a social debate initiated on legislation to be enacted.

b) The permanent parliamentary committees should obtain far-ranging powers of supervision with regard to the general observation of the law and, in some cases, be able to serve as a court of appeal.

c) The earlier announced reform of the election law should primarily amend the procedure of nomination. The deputies in the Hungarian National Assembly do not represent citizens who have voted for political programs. Instead they represent social groups insofar as there are among them--just as in society generally--workers, farmers, writers, clergymen and party functionaries. In the foreseeable future this state of affairs will continue. Yet even today there might be some amendment to the effect that the various social groups nominate their candidates--by means of a public decision arrived at by various special groups and labor unions: The writer ought to be nominated by a committee of the writers' union, the scientist--uniting the votes of the academic institutions--by the presidium of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the workers by the meeting of labor union secretaries of the major enterprises. Agreement might then be sought within the framework of the "Fatherland Front" as to what organizations are to nominate how many candidates, and how these are to be assigned to the various election districts.

2. The domain and independence of the judiciary should be expanded:

a) A constitutional court should be set up, to decide in cases of conflict whether valid laws conform to the constitution or other basic laws.

b) Also to be established is an administrative court to supervise the legality of operations by state organs and--by way of a normal trial--pronounce verdicts in legal actions involving private and legal entities or authorities.

-- Let us note here that the implementing regulations to the law on actions against the state administration (63/1981/5.XII/MT) have drawn unjustifiably narrow the group of cases allowing a citizen to appeal to the courts against an administrative decision adversely affecting him. It does not, for example, provide any opportunity for appealing to the courts with regard to decisions by the police or the interior ministry. This government decree definitely requires amendment.

c) The licensing, registration, suspension and dissolution of associations and small enterprises should be assigned to the courts. This would require a new association law leaving relatively little scope to judicial discernment, and on the basis of which it would be easy to continue using those legal norms that hold everything permissible unless explicitly banned by law.

d) To ensure an impartial judiciary and judicial independence, other measures should also be adopted.

3. The citizen's security under the law should be raised.

a) To be struck or more precisely defined are those articles of the penal code, that leave undue scope to judicial caprice in the matter of sentences for debatable actions. For example Article 150--dealing with "incitement" and Article 269--dealing with "insults to the community"--adopt as a criterion for establishing guilt that the action be apt "to foment hatred." This provision leaves free rein to the judge's learnings. It makes it impossible for the prosecution to establish the fact of the offense by factual evidence and for the defense to refute it.

b) To be amended or completely abolished are those decrees that empower the organs of state security to act arbitrarily. The decrees by the Minister of Interior on "compulsory measures of police organs" (4/1976/7.VI/BMO) and on "police reprimand" (8/1976/17.XII/BM), for example, allow the head of the respective police precinct to banish citizens from their residential community without giving any reason, to subject citizens to official surveillance that involves severe restrictions of personal freedom, or impose on them serious reprimands for behavior that no court would punish because there is no case to answer.

And, finally, the government decree on "travel abroad" and the "issue of travel passports (153/1978/19.XI/MT), because it does not obligate the passport office to give any reason when rejecting an application, and it is therefore an entirely arbitrary matter to whom it does or does not issue a passport.

In none of these instances is the injured person able to turn to the courts for redress.

c) A decree should settle the circumstances when staff of the Ministry of Interior are permitted to interrogate citizens. It should be made widely known that nobody is obligated without a court subpoena--especially outside official premises--to present himself anywhere upon receiving a request to do so, or to answer questions, and that it is a felony for somebody to try and cause another person so to present himself by the exercise of psychological pressure.

d) Respect should at last be accorded the principle according to which--with some exceptions to be explicitly mentioned--the contractual relationship between employer and employee is an entirely person contractual relationship, in other words that the employer has no official powers with regard to the employee, and that the official organs may not interfere in the rights based on the labor contract. The labor code should make it perfectly clear that

-- Nobody may be discriminated against by reason of a lifestyle differing from the norm but not in breach of any law, for political or ideological views, involvement in lawful citizen initiatives on the job or the conclusion of a new contractual relationship between employer and employee,

-- Disciplinary proceedings on the job may be initiated for behavior outside working hours only if the labor contract explicitly includes the respective instructions; such instructions, however, require special justification and must at all times conform to the constitution,

-- The manager is not responsible for his staff's behavior outside working hours, and neither his superior nor outsiders may compel him to accept instructions to that effect.

-- The employer has no right to express an opinion on matters involving an employee's application to an official agency--for example for a travel passport or community housing.

-- In case of a job change, the former employer is obligated in writing to pass on his opinion of the employee to the new employer; the employee is entitled to read it. The employee may appeal to the courts if he considers the reference unwarranted, or if he was dismissed illegally and as a consequence is unable to find another job.

#### IV.

##### Remarks on a reform of book and magazine publishing

Current book and magazine publishing needs to be overhauled. As we know, the origin of all evil is the loose general regulation, in other words the absence of a strong law to effectively restrain the authorities in their handling of magazines or publishing houses.

The only saving grace is the fact that the relative benefits of the present situation are also linked to this flexibility: For example there are no written censorship provisions, and it is therefore possible for a relatively flexible cooperation between publishers and supervisory organs to evolve.

Both sides thus worry about the possibility of a formal reorganization: The authorities fear that they may lose control of book and magazine publishing in case their legal powers are strictly defined, and writers, journalists and publishers fear that the state may impose regulations liable severely to restrict their scope. How can we break out of this vicious circle? We propose the following solution: Initially there should be no regulations for the system of book and magazine publishing as a whole. Instead new types of publication should be created at the margin of this system. For example:

-- Technical and cultural associations might found magazines and book publishing companies, supervised by a body elected by the association itself. This body would supervise the chief editor or manager of the publishing house.

-- Consonant with an appropriate provision, book or magazine publishing houses may also be set up as private enterprises.

These new type magazines would in some respects be better and in others worse off than the traditional publications:

-- Better off because the authorities would be unable to interfere in editorial policy by administrative means. The authorities would only have the right to appeal to the courts if they considered a magazine or publishing house to have violated the statutes of its own or respective range of operations.

-- Worse off because the relevant laws would restrict their profile and, in addition, fix textual censorship provisions. Still, in the case of magazines and publishing houses run by associations, the profile restriction as well as the censorship may be handled more lightly than in the case of entrepreneurial ventures. (It would, for example, be quite conceivable that the latter would be allowed only to publish literary or art contributions while the former could include sociological works also. Or: Entrepreneurial magazines and publishing houses may be subjected to advance censorship, while the censorship provisions applying to associations would take effect post.factum--although of course this advance censorship could also be undertaken by a court--on the basis of the censorship provisions applying to private book and magazine publishers).

-- It would not matter if the profile restriction and censorship provisions were initially stricter than absolutely necessary; it is all-important for this new publishing system to function without unduly frequent official interference. It would certainly be helpful if these restrictive measures were imposed for only a limited period (say 3 years), leaving it to the National Assembly at the end of that period to consider whether or not to ease them.

-- At the same time the National Assembly may also review the possibilities of gradually expanding the principles of the new subsystem to the sector of traditional book and magazine publishers.

.....

Our proposals do not represent a complete program. Basically we are submitting suggestions for the solution of only one topical problem--how to arrive at a social consensus with regard to crisis management and the matter of reforms. These are the key statements in our feasible political program: Publicity, functioning labor unions, constitutionality. Our reflections have not been limited to these three sectors simply by the immediate task but also by the conviction that--considering the internal and external situation of Hungary as a given--such a political evolution is still conceivable, and it is therefore worth while to call for action. In other words, there are still important political goals achievable without sending a shock wave through the basic institutions of the system. For that reason we have not mentioned relations between party and government, party and National Assembly, the party's right to supervision in personnel matters, the independent counterparts of the mass organizations controlled by the party. If someone considers this too narrow a perspective, let us quote Istvan Bibó:

Changes of great consequence may be carried out in relatively small fields, if the areas earmarked for change are clearly marked off from those that are to remain untouched. On the other hand, he who thinks our proposals much too hazardous should consider that this method--applied gradually and cautiously--might well lead to a change.

Evidently such an evolution could only occur if it need not confront the rigid resistance of the state apparatus. The major part of our proposals presumes the cooperation of the legislating state organs. In exceptional cases, though, citizens may produce results even without the collaboration of the state. In our opinion it would be well worth while to exploit this possibility, provided that public opinion is clearly shown that all actions conform to constitutional rights, and if we may expect the state to take public opinion into account. Still, it is too much to hope that the decree issued with regard to the actions cited will in the foreseeable future be adapted to the legal provisions of the constitution. It is as a result of this consideration that we have founded our magazine BESZEL0. We think it desirable and possible for BESZEL0 one day to have a place among the new magazines registered. At the same time we are quite aware that a press reform can be implemented only very gradually in present conditions, and with regard to a provision for independent political magazines similar to ours, a move can come only at the end of this process. Until then we are definitely not in a position to hope for legal guarantees but do hope for backing by the active sector of public opinion and, possibly, the gradual evolution of a prescriptive right that may resolve the current contradictions of the media law.

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HUNGARY

CHURCH STATE RELATIONS TO ENTER NEW PHASE

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[Interview with Jozsef Cserhati, Roman Catholic Bishop of Pecs and secretary of the Hungarian Conference of Bishops, by Istvan Tamas: "The Meaning and Practice of Dialogue"; date not specified; passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in italics]

[Text] Dr Jozsef Cserhati, Roman Catholic Bishop, has headed the diocese of Pecs since 1964. Sixty-nine years old, he was born in Tolna and completed his theological studies at the Gregorian University in Rome; after his return home, he was assistant pastor, professor of religion and theology and dean at the Theological Academy. He is secretary of the Hungarian Conference of Bishops. His writings and pastoral statements are known both here and abroad; his studies and articles dealing with Catholic spiritual life and its contemporary social aspects in our country are frequently published. He has written several books; currently, his work entitled "Life for Others" is awaiting publication by the Saint Stephen Society.

At the request of the editors of KRITIKA, he gladly agreed to be interviewed by Pal E. Feher and Istvan Tamas, who represented our journal.

The need for continuing and developing dialogue induced our editors to approach Bishop Cserhati. Our premise was formulated by Comrade Gyorgy Aczel, in the 20 August 1977 issue of NEPSZABADSAG, as follows: "In the dialogue conducted with religious believers, we do not wish to overcome but only to convince, since we trust in the deepening of our own relations, and we do not forget that in the interests of our people, we must include initiatives originating from diverse sources into the current of joint social action. The Church in Hungary was able to find its place in the transformed socialist world precisely because our constitution ensures religious freedom--both institutional and personal religious freedom...The acceptance of cooperation on the part of the Church is the basis for the continuation of the dialogue."

Bishop Cserhati feels it is important to state that he not only

accepts socialism as a social reality but also considers it a social necessity. As a person with a transcendental world view and as a priest, he naturally considers neither the view nor, in part, the social practice of Marxism as his own but considers its triumphs to date as an outstanding achievement of Hungarian history, and is therefore prepared for cooperation. He said, "The Church, the community of Roman Catholic believers, is a very important factor of Hungarian society. The government understands this well and accepts it. Today we may already consider the post-liberation tensions and trying conflicts between the Church and the state--in which the mistakes of both parties played a painful role--as a serious lesson of history. The conditions for dialogue and joint activity have matured in our day."

Recently, Hungarian television aired an important interview with Laszlo Cardinal Lekai, Archbishop, President of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Conference of Bishops. In this interview, Cardinal Lekai pledged peaceful and normal cooperation between the socialist state and Church and spoke about concrete tasks. In the spirit of creative dialogue, we spoke with Bishop Cserhati in this same spirit.

Though superficial characterizations are naturally always inadequate, Bishop Cserhati is through and through a public figure, a person thoroughly familiar with domestic and foreign policy events. He is a pleasant and engaging personality as a conversationalist. His convictions are unwavering, but he is open to discussion in order to appreciate other viewpoints.

He greeted our colleagues at the Bishop's residence of Pecs adjacent to the cathedral. Here there are reception chambers whose historical character has been shaped by a long succession of his predecessors. Bishop Cserhati spends the major part of his life here. His simple black cassock stands in sharp contrast to the elegant splendor of his surroundings. He rises at dawn when he dictates his thoughts onto tape; during the day they are transcribed by his colleagues; he then reviews and edits them. He works extremely hard.

The editors' questions and Bishop Cserhati's answers follow.

[Question] The relationship between the state and the Church is settled to the satisfaction of both parties. Under these circumstances, how would you formulate the tasks of the Roman Catholic Church in contemporary Hungarian society? As it is apparent, we are not vitally curious about the internal questions of the Church but rather about its worldly role and its viewpoint on this.

[Answer] The relationship between state and Church may be said to be settled inasmuch as the boundaries of living side by side have been defined or exactly stipulated. On the basis of the principle of religious freedom, the state acknowledges the freedom of activity of the Church as a religious community; on the other hand, the Church accepts the will of the state to build society

and the structure of the socialist people's state. Thus, among other things, the churches recognize the socialist reorganization of the village and naturally, even before that, the nationalization law according to which the land and instruments of production are transferred to the workers; additionally, it embraces the political goal of entrusting and building the leadership and government of the state according to the will of the people, in other words, that it wishes to create a socialist people's working class power. We are witnesses to all this in contemporary Hungary. The domination of capital and exploitation has ceased and the rule of the people has been realized which endeavors to elevate the people on the basis of the planned socialist social structures and economic order and with socialist cultural policy. Thus, the arrangement between the two entities, the state and the Church, primarily wishes to use this mutual acceptance and acknowledgment as a basis and specifies that they do not interfere in each other's matters but rather strive to coexist peacefully and that the Church resolutely wishes to do everything which promotes the building of the socialist state; however, the state either creates or permits the possibility for the Church to develop its own lifestyle according to its own internal rules.

Therefore, under these circumstances I would formulate /the tasks of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungarian society/ to make the faithful aware and to increasingly make it their goal to accept the new social order wished by the state, or rather, that every believer should consciously aid from religious conviction the construction of our socialist Hungarian homeland.

Concerning the formation of the relation of the state and Church--today in retrospect--we must conclude that the relations have markedly /progressed/; certain initial wants, observations or, we might say, reciprocal principles have always developed further, and today they have matured to a certain degree of perfection; yes, today we profess that coexistence has reached the level and vitality of existence for one another. Vatican Council II has greatly helped in this development, since at this highest forum, the Church emphasized new principles of renewal as a consequence of which it was able to develop new observations or attitudes: The world's own regularity and internal development must be acknowledged and with the renewed declaration of religious freedom, the independence and freedom of conscience must be proclaimed; any kind of humanistic world view or internal attitudinal structure could be the basis for meeting and dialogue. According to the conclusions of the Church, /dialogue/ serves the purpose of being able to make contact with every individual. Today the world is no longer entrusted to believers and non-believers, Christians and non-Christians, but rather to individuals of good or evil intentions. Dialogue is not so much talk as an event: we must search out each other's values and we must find the road to each other constructively. If this is so, the foremost responsibility of every Catholic believer and also the Church as a religious institution is to seek values in the will of the great social transformation in the world today and here at home in the actions of the socialist state to build the nation and foster culture in our country, to acknowledge the values and to build on them. It is possible to talk only of humanistic and not material values, and these as such are reconcilable with Christian teaching and the gospel of Jesus Christ.

We may still witness certain secularizing or worldly processes in the Church.

The Church, especially after the teachings of the Council, consciously wants to become "worldly". The Council's constitution or pastoral resolution entitled "The Church's Place in the World" formulated principles of how and where the Church could be of help to the contemporary world. The Council turned to the people, and thus opened a wider path to the world, the world of people. It did not bring Christ down to the people but instead wanted to lead the people to Christ through each other and thereby, through Christ, to direct them toward each other. Thus, in the view of the world, a certain modern change has taken place. Things as God's creations point to God, but they continue to remain of this world; therefore when placed side by side, they must be evaluated as constituting a separate world, designating, one might say, the "consecrated world". Thus, everything has its own, so to speak, worldly value: nature, human action, the human sphere of activity, history, the human body, the loving relationship between man and woman, the family, the family's internal will to survive and human social relations. The Church could not even wish for anything else in these relations but that according to the most fundamental truths of the gospel and the ethical principles of the boundary between good and evil, they benefit all of humanity or rather, that we be able to live by these God-given or natural values.

In this manner, work has also been reevaluated and new attitudes have been developed concerning the nature of the individual and the community, society as a whole and the community of people, and the re-evaluation of activities surrounding policy, culture and civilization. Before us stands the great scale according to which everything /we face in our country in the new beginning, which is either offered or possible in our contemporary historical transformation, must be fitted into our Christian world view with our new attitude./ In brief, I would say that at the center of the socialist state stands the evaluation of man, the elevation of the individual, the transformation of the individual's conscience within the responsibility assumed for the community, "the freeing of the human individual", the new shaping of culture and civilization. Thus, in this view, /the individual and the community/ require reassessment or re-established foundations. Towards this, the Church can and wants to contribute from its own 2000 year-old humanist and religious viewpoints.

This is all I wanted to say in response to the first question, adding that I am aware of the many difficulties surrounding the socialist construction of government and society; there is a need for more constructive criticism, for the radical advocacy of that which is positive, for the castigation of contemporary social sins, for the greater protection of the weak. Unfortunately it is not always perceptible whether socialist morality is truly "moral", that is, a moral conduct able to distinguish between good and evil and to build on communal responsibility. Unfortunately, for the time being, we must also struggle against selfishness and the individual abuse of power. I have a positive attitude and conduct towards the present situation and this is the case for 90 percent of the clergy. I don't believe that there are 100 priests in our country who yearn for the return of the old conditions.

[Question] The cultural mission and the tasks undertaken by the Church over the centuries--naturally in changing forms and to different extents--was always significant in Hungarian spiritual life. How do you see the contemporary

possibilities of the Church in this area? How might Catholic culture become a part of general Hungarian spirituality?

[Answer] Today we may summarize the historical and cultural mission of the Church as follows: It taught the people of a young Europe to work, think, read, cultivate mathematics and build cities; it simultaneously taught them that the most perfect art form is music. In the opinion of the great Hungarian composers, including Bartok and Kodaly, the teaching and diffusion of choral works by the Church is unparalleled and unsurpassable. Church music was practically the foundation for the integration of the Hungarian national spirit into common European culture and thereby contributed to a certain extent to its survival. It can still be seen that the cultural treasures of the Church--even those in ruins--the remains of the church columns and paintings, all without a doubt point to the role of the Church as an outstanding mover in culture. /The question truly arises/ as to /what the Church/ with this cultural heritage in Europe and also in our country /can do in the changing contemporary world/ when, in brief, the social structures are changing, ways of thought are transformed, the masses, especially the youth, are seeking new values, / when religion no longer has the same attraction as before and the Church's social and political influence no longer exists/ or has declined to a minimum. What can the Church do in a world seeking a new historical face?

In my opinion, the first thing that the Church could also do today, as a result of its essence, is to teach, to /reveal its intellectual, cultural and spiritual treasures, to give insights into its own history/, to uncover the treasury of its values which, to date, has perhaps been untouched and unopened. Here I am thinking of that wonderful cooperation which developed in our country with unparalleled success as compared to other European countries, between Hungarian monument preservation and the Church. We are talking about almost perfect cooperation. We consider the treasures of the Church and the monuments as common; they are also the treasures of the people which had to be saved with joint energy. Thus the first thing is the past, the past yet to be explored, and here much has to be made up. For example, I am referring the the catalogue of the 17th, 18th and 19th century music and song treasures, including the organs of Hungarian cities, or rather of Hungarian bishoprics and chapters of cathedrals which was just published, and the collection of other ecclesiastical music accessories and relics. But similarly, the hidden treasures of very many peoples of the Church and their customs still remain undiscovered. This is the past.

In thinking of the /present/, what can the Church do in Hungarian spiritual life? /It could mold people from the pulpit/, those humanistic people who want to see clearly and those to whom conceptions of individual and communal responsibilities are decisive, and which could only be identical with assumption of responsibility with which the present Hungarian state wants to lead the Hungarian people. When the Sunday sermon deals with how we undertake our work, how we assume the responsibility for the community, the other person, the colleague, how we should strive to consider our work as the elevation of the people, letting our audience know that we must eradicate Hungarian problems, alcoholism and birth control together, the work of national salvation is being

done. The sins of the people have become uncomfortably apparent in the love of comfort, and let us admit, in laziness, daydreaming, overplanning, or we might also say, often in mutual distrust. Finally, the time has come when we are able to newly or in some other way discover the lack of Hungarian unity, as in the past. More has to be done for the unity of our people.

We still suffer from the negligence or lack of Hungarian unity, the sought after national unity. Thus, the task of the present is to form a new type of man; on the basis of the gospel, contemporary man must be told to "love your neighbor as yourself" and to "do unto others as you wish them to do unto you". In this regard, the possibilities remain unchanged: the churches are open, we are not prevented from describing an ethical humanistic vision of man from the pulpit and from inspiring people to work together to create a new Hungarian homeland. The Church can also illuminate the values from the past very effectively with their discovery, and with the introduction of Hungarian saints and outstanding personalities, we could certainly influence the present generation positively, especially the youth.

In this regard, I would especially like to emphasize that the /Hungarian government has great expectations/ not only of the Catholic Church, but of all the other churches. At the January meeting of the Patriotic Popular Front, Secretary-General Imre Pozsgay said that there are expectations from the highest levels with regard to the conduct and activities of the Church primarily in three areas. These are questions on the preservation of the family, the problems of guiding the youth along new paths, and problems of their religious instruction or public and moral conduct, the creation of a better existence for the sick and the aged within the family, and not in the least, as a separate point, he mentioned a patriotic training also within the scope of work of the Church. These are the expectations.

Without a doubt, the Church is facing its most sensitive and serious challenge within the family, primarily because of the number of divorces. When one-third of new marriages are dissolved yearly and again the orphaned abandoned children --abandoned by at least one party--wind up, although not on the street since they fall into the arms of society, into the social services apparatus, which no matter how perfect, could never replace the mother, the unity of the family, and the warmth of the family home. /We would like to deal more with the family/, but how is this possible when not once, the relation of the Church, or rather the clergy with individual families is viewed suspiciously? Immediately, the stigma appeared: so-and-so has clerical connections.

We would like to have a greater influence on the spirituality of the youth, but if we are /unable to deal directly with the youth/, how are we to attain results? It does not even occur to us to create a Catholic youth movement. Our only request to the government /is to allow us to deal more freely with the youth/-- only with those who attend Church, only with those young people who yearn for deeper religious content, with those who want to read the sacred scriptures, who occasionally require the guidance of a priest because they want to be immersed in the Christian spirit, in the teachings of Christ. /Truly, we would like to offer the work, free of politics and purged of every separate intention, to the Hungarian Church as a whole and also to society in such a

way that we also be able to contribute to the education of the critically thinking youth eager for human freedom, and be able to mobilize creative human energies./ This is a very sensitive issue, but the /youth must be saved/; the Church truly wishes to help, does not wish to antagonize anyone, and does not wish to be an enemy of Hungarian socialist will when it tries to develop Christian attitudes, Christian humanism or the features of Christianity in these young people. We too only want one thing: /the new communal man, the foundation of a new society where people live for each other, where there is no exploitation, where the great goal is rather to further develop and expand values/: new people, new persons, human individuals, /the new communal society/. This is our goal too.

And then there are the sick and aged in the families. This is a separate pastoral area, which we also approach with fear. The aged expect the living to stand by them, those whom they brought up and sacrificed their lives for. Only those who are close to the sick or who unselfishly want to support them can bring a smile to their faces. /On the part of the Church, we could imagine that we could launch a charitable movement where more than, one person in a village or city would consciously seek out the sick brother with Christian joy, who would stand by them and want to help. The experiences of the past few years are that when the number of aged is always increasing or, unfortunately I could also say, the number of /abandoned people/ is always increasing, how can they expect, precisely on religious grounds, but I dare say also on civil and humanitarian grounds, the appearance of neighbors, comrades and old friends to aid the family in easing their pain, sorrow and disappointments? /There would be much to do in this area also; I would also consider this a cultural activity, to bring spirit to those who have no other remedy and their true solace rests in the strength of their spirit./ The general Hungarian intellectuality and the social emergence of a new face today needs precisely the often mentioned Hungarian brotherhood; let social and national unity become a reality.

Here I would mention training in patriotism as a separate task. The Hungarian youth has also gone through a certain value crisis; it is almost as if we had to re-educate the youth as to what the family really is, what the ideal and ethical relationship between men and women is, what love is, the poetic, beautiful love which warms the human soul; what friendship is, what collective work and responsibility is and what the state and the nation is. These are all cultural and value adjectives, which must again and again be presented to the youth in a purified form. I always believed that /the question of patriotism is primarily an ethical question./ It is the statement of the purified, noble man toward his own kind, own brothers, own history and contemporaries. This is the basis of patriotism and appreciation.

[Question] We live in a socialist state and the "ideology"--so to speak--of the Church of necessity conflicts with the goals of the state formulated in the Marxist spirit. This conflict within the present-day context does not represent opposition, but in all events it necessitates dialogue between world views. What is your opinion about the present status and possible tasks of the dialogue?

[Answer] I have already answered these points in part when there was mention of dialogue in the foregoing. I dealt quite a bit with dialogue and became convinced of its important role, and I dare say, of its indispensable necessity and presence. Dialogue is primarily an intellectual and spiritual meeting. Two or more people sit down and begin to talk about something, not necessarily arguing, and slowly they realize that in the various views they discover common values and features which could be integrated, and they feel that at times even the most contradictory views could be brought into marvelous harmony. This is already dialogue, real dialogue. Dialogue has many preliminaries and prerequisites. The basis of dialogue is a certain self-education; I want to teach myself sincerity, openness and straightforwardness. This openness, sincerity and preparedness is necessary for anything to be solved. The second basis is the recognition of the realities; we must realize that there are conflicts and that these conflicts did not materialize from thin air, but rather contain the truths of historical development and human destiny, which are not identical. There is one truth, but it is multifaceted and complex in composition. Within truth, there are conflicts and not contradictions, and the strands must be united and woven into one, as far as is possible. /The contemporary world consciously wants to be multileveled and -valued, in a word, pluralistic./ Today, religious pluralism is striking: the modern world accepts Christianity, but also Marxism; we accept the strivings of Buddhism as the soul-cleansing effort of a great religion; we accept the Muslims in their ethical consciousness and their striving to be purified. This view is fundamentally important in the dialogue between East and West. In the scale of human values, we tune the tensions of the individual and the community, the various colors and different tones to each other. This is so the /single individual comes into being/; we want to bring this single great individual, the human family, to life through the realization of the multifaceted man: /This is the new society/.

Naturally, the great divergence between the Marxist interpretation of man and Christian ethical interpretation will remain forever. This duality always existed; some believed in God and searched for transcendental forces so as to shape their lives in accordance with them; these are the religious individuals, and the world today is largely religious. There always were individuals who strove to formulate ethical and social laws to find world view orientations without God, on a totally materialistic, immanent basis, which similarly had the goal of human happiness. /The essence of Christianity/ is usually defined by the fact that the /Christian individual who is baptized in the image and likeness of Christ is one who is able to live for others just as Christ was also a "person for others"/. Yes, actually here is the great task; this is what will help humanity over its present crisis; the hope is that human values will meet despite every conflict, and that a new forging of human values will be developed where everything which is debris and valueless will burn, because humanity lives and the soul lives and burns. This is what we Christians believe in, and in the final analysis, if we ask a Marxist what he believes in, he will essentially say the same as the Christian: /in a better, morally purified man/, in the man who builds a humane society. According to E. Bloch, the famous neo-Marxist at Tubingen, mankind's deliverance is in hope, a configuration of human powers where good will triumph over evil. This is no easy task; amidst today's events, great effort must be exerted just to find

common features and values, and to make them productive.

In the deep pastoral theology /of Vatican Council II/, the acknowledgment of the world's own values, the emphasis on the separate truth of the sciences and natural sciences and the proclamation of the independence of science /brought a new attitude to the relations of man to other men and to the world/. At one time the Church was the bearer of all aspects of intellectual knowledge; not only did it preach religion, but it also taught reading and writing, agriculture and the arts; the Church was the great instructor of the people. The possession of knowledge also accorded power to the Church and even if we deplore this today, the Church truly had a share of worldly power, here too. Today, the Church's position has changed: /the Church wants to serve/, to follow the serving Christ, to be poor among the poor, and to remain the goad of conscience among the rich. Christians want to be members of the serving Church, and thus a truly new search developed among the faithful of how they could be of help and service to others.

/Human relations are reorganized in the Church parishes, on the one hand, among those gathered around the altar/ and on the other, among those who wish to share each other's problems and burdens in the spirit of Christ's cross. The Church also wants to attain a surplus : this is modern and contemporary, that the Church is now constituted by the believers and no longer only by the clerics. The Church is not the collectivity of priests but rather the collectivity of priests and believers. This is the hour of the laity, the wordly believers, as we approach the end of the 24th hour. The role of the believers will be deeper and more comprehensive since the Church exists for them. And they too must teach one another, they too must assume priestly duties not in the identical sense but in real content, naturally excluding the duties of the ordained priest. All of us are also one another's priests, we teach each other, pray for each other and make sacrifices for each other; we lead, direct, watch over and protect each other. Thus, the faithful will, in part, assume the protective functions of the priests and pastors and carry them further. /We conceive of the community of the Church as being an example of the great human community/ just as the brilliant teaching of Vatican Council II proclaimed: people must be unified with God and each other through Christ. This is the unity we would like to see throughout the world. We believe that it is possible for the Church and the community of believers gathered around the altar to also be an example of the great civil community of mankind, or as we say in Church parlance, its mover.

Thus, the /expectations/ of the Church would be to deal more with the faithful, and to be able to forge them into one, also in human terms/. Today this is desired by tens and hundreds of thousands of people. This also represents the Church's intent with regard to the youth; we are seeking out the youth, we want to transform the individuals into public-spirited people, we wish to train them for service. This task is furthered by the time-honored group activity: four or five people assemble and begin reading the scriptures; they wish to immerse themselves in it and draw from the essence of Christianity; they live their own spiritual lives in this introspection, in meditating about God and in the spiritual dream of creating a new humanity. We would like to introduce

this type of work to the old and the sick and make it productive--to live for one another, to console and strengthen one another.

After this, may I briefly summarize what I think about the present status of the dialogue? In our country, /the dialogue between Church and state has become stronger, although in reality it has been expanded rather than deepened, and today we are waiting for precisely this deepening/ which in my view /would be rather important after the principles have been reconciled/. We /must/ increasingly satisfy /the desires, demands and wishes of the believers;/ they probably did not read the documents of Vatican Council II; nevertheless it is as if they knew from them that /the Church/ today /must/ justify its /existence in the community of believers and its participation in the service of mankind/. The presence of the laity, the worldly believers, in the /continuing dialogue/ would mean progress in the renewed life of the Church, from which the state would profit at least as much as the Church.

On the occasion of his departure from Poland, the Pope established with General Jaruzelski in Cracow in the hours around midnight that the presence of the Pope was advantageous and that the dialogue must be continued on a new basis which takes into consideration the present historical realities. /In this country the dialogue must also be continued; both parties must take the new needs into consideration and the mutual legitimate expectations/, by this time, based on good experiences in a totally different social situation.

[Question] Bishop Cserhati, you are a creative person whose studies have been and are noticed not only within the Church but also by intellectuals in wider circles of society and abroad. What drives you in your public stands and how would you formulate your own "ars poetica"?

[Answer] Spiritually I had two great movers in my life. One was my mother who was skilled in healing arthritic illnesses. She learned this from somewhere and constantly worked on perfecting it so that she was able to dissipate pain by using massage and certain creams; therefore she was widely sought after, especially by the aged. She also learned what conversation and cheering up meant to the sick. There was not a sick person, regardless of their location, that she would not visit. Often they were already expecting her. Often I was amazed at how my good mother did all this. On the other hand, I also incorporated her goodness, that one must do good unto others, into myself. And this became one of the guiding principles of my life, /to approach other men with understanding, caring and support/. If I think about it, I was a great prompter in the classroom, and as a good student I was able and wanted to aid everyone. I did this without moral censorship, or today I would say that I did not have a guilty conscience, simply because I wished to help my fellow human beings, classmates and comrades. My other such ideal was that of the "homo doctus"; I always loved books starting from my childhood, I had a passion for the written word, I read a great deal, everything interested me and I came to realize how great a treasure it is if a person can read and that whoever possesses this knowledge should also give of it to others. /Giving, sharing, dividing also became a fundamental principle of my life/; give away everything, share everything, never exaggerate our interests in any type of ownership. /This is why I was sensitive to the little man, to the poor man./

I remember when I was an assistant pastor I was able to discover eight poor families in the three villages where I worked who needed our assistance; there were aged and widows among them. And I was able to find help. There was a rather wealthy gambler in the village who often won large sums of money. Since I was on friendly terms with him, not entirely on a religious but also on a personal basis, I was able to persuade him to give me a quarter of his winnings if they were large so that I might distribute it among my poor.

The great historical turning point which took place here swept the development of history toward the little and poor man from the outset. This had a great impact on me; I know about the more than 2 1/2 million agrarian proletariats, the construction workers, the night-time stevedores; I was familiar with the want and suffering in the homes of these ragged men. When I arrived in Pecs, one of the first things I did was to find out who the poor were through the university registrar and the Financial Office. It was already after the war. Thus, at the registrar I noted all the students who had little or no backing. I recall a poor Jewish girl who was totally alone, all her relatives had died; we were able to enroll her in the university, but she had nothing and no one. The university refectory was Catholic, but I organized its leadership in such a way that other denominations were also represented. This Jewish girl was also a member of this so-called cafeteria committee; 6 of the 14 members were of other faiths; besides Catholics, there were Protestants and Lutherans. We were able to help about 120 people with warm lunches and with an occasional piece of clothing.

Actually this was the start of my ministry. Now that I have dealt more with Church-state relations, or rather with the relations between Church and society, I believe that the initial antagonism has almost entirely disappeared. The dualism was understandable; two world views, two conceptions of society collided with each other. /From the beginning, I saw that rapprochement must come and that the values of the 2000 year-old Church must meet the values of the new social beginning/. Despite internal contradictions and difficulties, the Church from the very start was able to appreciate the goals and principles of the societal construction of the socialist state. /Of necessity, internal compulsion and conviction, it sided with these values and wished to support the state in reaching these goals./ A society based on social equality and truth stood closer to the Church. The Church itself also wanted to share destiny with society as a whole; it assumed responsibility for the people, the simple and poor people. By becoming equal, we again became poor. But this became our asset; the Church appreciated this because it was able to do so.

Precisely because of this and as a result of my own attitudes and outlook, based on the new historical view /I supported with great internal joy /the work of shaping Hungarian destiny/ which strove to elevate the Hungarian people and advance them so that they /could build/ their further historical development on moral, /intellectual and spiritual values/. During the course of history, the Church has always had good relations with the people; the Church must continue now to support the people, and the people appreciate the presence and help of the Church.

If we weigh all these factors, the conclusion is truly that we are facing

Certain modifications in the relations between Church and state/ in that the Church is not longer in contact with a withdrawn theoretical state which was proper and understandable until now, but rather is in contact with /society as such, a part of which is composed of believers/. /Thus, the part of society comprised of believers has new expectations/ which are expressed by the fact that /the believers themselves want to partially control the formation of their faith/ and in their faith they want to determine their relations with people of other views and attitudes who live in the country. Thus, /the faithful desire to develop their own faith more freely and creatively and also develop its social connections/. The believers in the so-called parishes would also like to create that certain "club-like" community which today is a phenomenon in demand throughout the whole world; people wish to become more of a society, they wish to be closer to one another. This is also true in the Church; the Hungarian Church expects a great deal from this spiritual movement, because in this it sees the new beginnings of the formation of a "brotherly Church". In its heart, the parish today wishes to carry out a three-fold mission: to assume pastoral care for the family, the youthful believers and the sick and aged.

In this sense, we are certainly facing a new situation, and this would be the /third phase/ in the formation of relations between the Church and the state. The first step was to take cognizance of the fact that a new social order was in the process of formation in our country. The second was the evaluation of the new social order, and this was begun primarily with Janos Kadar's visit to the Vatican; the third phase is /the present new transformation/ which is related to the fact that /the worsening of the European situation makes it necessary for the Church to participate more actively and seriously/ on the one had, in holding society together and healing its internal wounds and on the other, in the leadership of the healed society toward attaining the communal society.

In this third phase, the Church also here in Hungary is beginning to fulfill the role assigned to us by the Vatican Council in its proclamation entitled "The Church's Place in the World", that /it should not politicize or play a leading role, but rather, it should perform and undertake the role/ which the good Lord, on the basis of the gospels of Jesus Christ, intended for the Church during the course of history; "that it should become the mover in life, the spiritually transforming and shaping mover".

There could be various reasons why my writings also arouse interest abroad. The following instance is representative: Two years ago I was invited to a two-week study conference in Japan on the basis of information provided by the London and Bonn offices of the Buddhist World Federation as one "who deals with the future of mankind"--from Europe, only eight people participated as official guests. And this is truly what interests me: /how it would be possible to again create a single family, a single great brotherly community from mankind./ Abroad, it could appear that in some way I am more forward thinking and do not just tinker with local problems. /I see strength in socialism/; I see a huge experimental solution which perceives the present problems of the world very well and which is based on a comprehensive, realistic view of history; its practical verification still remains to be seen, even though it has already

been partially successful.

I feel that I must still briefly answer two questions: What is the true explanation for the favorable foreign reception of my studies and what do I think the Church's most essential activities are in the ethical, social and cultural fields? To the first question, let me briefly answer that for several years, they have grown accustomed to the fact that I take a realistic position and I make a serious effort in the interests of dialogue in areas where previously prejudice made progress impossible, and where, unfortunately, these consciously false interpretations are frequent today. At one time I too was attacked for aiding the cause of communism. Today the climate has significantly changed; they agree with my critical and non-committal analyses; I also deplore Western one-sidedness and accept diverse discussion.

And in what do I see the most essential tasks of the Church today with regard to the world? First of all, it should always remain true to itself and deal with matters of the spirit; at the same time, it should always support social justice with great determination from the pulpit. Let it dare to raise its voice in support of the poor and exploited who are always in large supply in this world. This also means that it should undertake with greater determination the work of peace which stems from its essence, primarily the pacification of souls and the ecumenical movement for the meeting between Christian brothers, with greater commitment than in the past; here at home, it should stand with all its strength in the service of creating national unity. The Church will be valid and successful in this work if it does what it must do as a result of its essence: it should promote prayer, fasting and pilgrimages and call for abstinence and sacrifice in the interest of the most burning issue of mankind today, for peace.

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BRIEFS

SFRY ENVOY DEPARTS--Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council; Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Janos Peter, vice president of the National Assembly, received on a farewell visit Milan Veres, ambassador of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, who left Budapest permanently. [Text] [AU301707 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Oct 83 p 8 AU]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO PORTUGAL--Gyorgy Bobvos, Hungarian ambassador to Portugal, presented his credentials to Antonio Ramalho Eanes, president of the Republic of Portugal, on 26 October. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Oct 83 p 8 AU]

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH POLICY CONFERENCE--A 2-day international conference entitled "Youth and Economy," organized by the Political College of the MSZMP Central Committee, began work on 25 October. The conference, with the participation of Bulgarian, GDR, CSSR and Soviet researchers, will discuss several current issues of the youth policy, the employment conditions of young people, and youth participation in the work of economic building. In connection with these subjects, the conference also deals with current issues of the youth movement. [Text] [AU301709 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Oct 83 p 5 AU]

INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION DEPARTS--An Indonesian parliamentary delegation, which paid an official visit to Hungary at the invitation of the Hungarian National Assembly, left Budapest on 23 October. The delegation, which was led by Hardjantho Sumodisastro [name as published], deputy chairman of the People's Representative Council of Indonesia, held talks on the cooperation between the two countries and further development of parliamentary relations. The delegation visited Borsod County where Jozsef Ladanyi, National Assembly deputy and chairman of the county council, received the guests and informed them about the county's situation and development ideas. The delegation visited Leninvaros, the Tisza Chemical Works, and the Bartok Bela agricultural production cooperative of Borsodszirak. Present at Ferihegy airport at the delegation's departure were Janos Peter, vice president of the National Assembly and Budi Hartantyo, ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia to Budapest. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Oct 83 p 8 AU]

WORLD BANK, JAPAN LOAN--Co-financing with the International Bank for Rebuilding and Development, Japanese banks supplied the Hungarian National Bank with a loan of 16.1 billion yen (about \$70 million), as a supplement to previously given loans meant the realization of programs of the World Bank and other commercial banks concerning the development of grain storage and agriculture, and the diversification and saving of industrial energy. The bank will repay the loan within 9 years with a period of grace of 3 years and the interest adjusted to the Japanese money market long-term interest. The loan agreement was signed in Tokyo on 27 October by the bank's representatives, the Long-Term Credit Bank of Japan, and the Fuji Bank Ltd organized bank group. [Text] [AU061540 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Oct 83 p 8 AU]

NEW SRI LANKA ENVOY--Rezso Trautmann, vice president of the Presidential Council, received Ambassador Neville Kanakaratne, the new envoy of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka to Budapest, who presented his credentials on 2 November. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Nov 83 p 5 AU]

NEW ENVOY TO GUINEA--Raymon Toth, Hungary's ambassador accredited to the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, presented his credentials to Ahmed Sekou Toure, president of the republic. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Oct 83 p 8 AU]

SYRIAN PARTY DELEGATION VISIT--At the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee, a delegation of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party headed by Ghezi Noufal, member of the Syrian Suweida County party committee and head of the Peasants' Bureau visited Hungary on 20-28 October. The delegation, with which met Laszlo Ballai, head of the MSZMP Central Committee's Economic Policy Committee, held talks with Ervin Zsuffa, deputy head of the Central Committee's Economic Policy Committee, and Laszlo Paposci, deputy minister of agriculture and food supply. The delegation studied the situation of the Hungarian agriculture and food industry and the activity of the state and cooperative farms and visited Szabolcs-Szatmar and Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen Counties. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Oct 83 p 21 AU]

HUNGARIAN-AUSTRIAN TRAVEL AGENCY--A document on the creation of a joint Hungarian-Austrian travel agency has been signed by Jeno Szirmai, managing director of the Hungarian National Savings Bank, and Peter Alge, president of Penta Tours of Austria. The new travel agency will start its activity on 1 January in Budapest and its main aim is to enrich the choice of travels abroad given to the Hungarian tourists and, at the same time, to bring more Western tourists to Hungary. [Summary] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Nov 83 p 9 AU]

FRG PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION--Volker Ruhe, deputy chairman of the CDU-CSU group in the FRG federal parliament, and Dr Wolfgang Schaeuble, executive official of the group, paid a visit to Hungary from 1 to 2 November. Andra Oyenes, chairman of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, Ferenc Esztergalyos, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Dr Jozsef Bognar, academician and director of the Hungarian Academy of Science's Research Institute of World Economy had talks with the FRG parliament's representatives. Dr Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, also met with the representatives. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Nov 83 p 5 AU]

POLAND

AUTHOR EXAMINES PROSPECTS OF POST-CRISIS DEVELOPMENTS

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 35, 31 Aug 83 pp 1,8,15

[Article by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski: "Dangers and Opportunities"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The crisis has pulled us into the depths of the transitional period, with all of the resultant consequences:/

In the Economic Sphere

The economy has become more multi-structural: the private enterprise sector, based on the direct production of the proprietor (of land or trade shops), is expanding and becoming stronger; the private-capitalist enterprise sector that earns money from foreign labor (including Polonia firms) is growing; the agential enterprise that uses state property for private use is expanding. In the state and cooperative property sector, the introduction of market levers has led to phenomena familiar from the Leninist NEP [New Economic Policy] period. "The new economic policy signifies (...) a step in the direction of the return of capitalism to a great extent," since "capitalism must develop [based on] free trade. This is the most fundamental economic alphabet." (Lenin, vol 33, p 50).

Under the conditions of such policy, social stratification inevitably grows and conflicts of interest emanating therefrom sharpen. There is a "partial, insignificant improvement in the economic situation of some of the strata of the population--and these represent the minority, and a total lack of proportion of existing economic resources compared with the most pressing needs of the other strata--and these represent the majority." (Lenin, vol 33, p 89).

This is the kind of situation in which we now find ourselves, as we scramble to extricate ourselves from the depths of the crisis in which we are still plunged. R. Kosolapov, a Soviet political activist and theoretician, said correctly that "according to the assessment of the PZPR itself one cannot hold that in Poland, the tasks of the transitional period have been resolved in full, and that Polish society has coped with the tasks of the total restructuring of socialism--either during the pre-crisis period or now all the more. The existence over several decades of stable agriculture based

on private property alongside socialized agriculture and of the capitalist sector and the existence of influential antisocialist ideological currents attest to the contrastive, mosaic character of the base and superstructure and consequently to the existence of objective antagonistic causes of class conflicts."

/What must be done so that our emergence from the crisis is not Poland's withdrawal from socialism? This is still a real danger. What is important is whose interests gain ascendancy, what the power structure will be./

The transitional period is a period of unfinished class struggles and continuous reforms transforming the social base and superstructure, by means of gradual changes leading toward the goal, step by step, without administrative pressures.

It will be years, decades, perhaps even an entire era before we succeed in overcoming the old system in full, in changing fundamentally the old economic base. Nothing here is a foregone conclusion, decided once and for all. The answer to the question "who's who" depends on the party's economic role and upon what is happening in the international, the political, the economic and the ideological arenas--and right now, in the economic arena above all.

Lenin, proclaiming NEP, said openly: "We shall not forget any of the slogans that we learned yesterday" (vol 33, p 459). He also explained that: "From the viewpoint of strategy, the basic problem boils down to the question, who will be the first to take advantage of this new situation? The entire question is reduced to whether the peasantry will follow the proletariat that aims to build socialist society or the capitalist that says: 'Let us return to what was before, it will be safer that way'" (vol 33, p 50).

We must solve the problem of harnessing private capital in the development of socialist production relations. We must find effective ways of recording and controlling the excessive accumulation of wealth by the lower middle class and the petty bourgeoisie. How do we guard against irregularities in the distribution sphere? These are the dilemmas of state capitalism during the period of transition to socialism.

#### In the Ideological Sphere

Stagnation and helplessness in Marxist milieus that are disoriented and divided has led to an increase in the impact of competitive world-view orientations. The Church is drawing the greatest ideological capital from the crisis. Catholicism aspires to the doctrinal alternative of scientific socialism. However, the Church is not undivided either: at the one pole we have the obstinate anticommunist clericalists that speak of the Primate as "Comrade Glemp" and at the other pole we have those that are sure that only an alliance of communists and Catholics can save the world from annihilation.

It is difficult for the party to gain control over the spontaneous impulses of the working class. Solidarity stirred up the anarchosyndicalistic myth among the worker masses. In the proposals for pragmatic solutions and in their preference for capitalist reasoning in essence, they have shown revisionist-social democratic tendencies; lower middle class models of making money are popular.

What makes this all the more threatening is that the openly frivolous attitude to Marxism-Leninism as "dogmatic theory" and "literature that does not come up to practice" is not countered enough. What makes this worse is that the unequivocal class interpretation of the phenomena occurring in Poland and in the world is disappearing, especially in journalism, perhaps increasing the disorientation within the party itself.

/The polemic with our adversaries is of a defensive nature, amounting to clashing epithets rather than arguments: instead of winning over people with a socialist viewpoint, we focus our attention upon compromising our adversary./

In battling with foreigners we forget that internal social conflicts above all engender adversaries. The entire propaganda "combat strategy" ends either by convincing those that are already convinced or by repeating former mistakes, as was the case recently. In the present situation, this is the greatest misfortune of our propaganda. We could say much about this, particularly regarding the weaknesses of the permanent party apparatus and the cadres of the theoretical party front.

In the political sphere, many class, stratum and group divisions have become evident. Prosocialist forces have grouped themselves around PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] and bring into it all the diversity of the various hues of socialism. After more than a year since the imposition of martial law, after the defeat of the political extremists and the encirclement of the underground, one sees quite clearly that their opportunities for having an impact on the working class are dwindling. However, they may draw strength from our mistakes and become a danger once again. The less we slip up, the more anemic they become. Conversely, however, now that the political underground has been stopped, now that the danger is passing, when we must think of the future--what is to come--ideological, political and economics discussions must increase within the party and the state.

What else can happen on Poland's road to socialism? On the second anniversary of the Ninth Congress, 3 years after the signing of the agreements in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie it is certain that those that wished to steer us in a different direction are no longer important. Although they cause what trouble they can, we do not spare the efforts and means to counter our avowed enemies attacking from the underground and from abroad. But it is not they that we must fear the most anymore. They are still a real threat, but they will not decide the future shape and fortunes of socialism in Poland.

/After the storm that has passed over Poland we see the rainbow of multicolored systems-type proposals./

Even those that resign themselves to it as a scourge, a historical necessity due to the obvious circumstances, tend toward socialism. And as for the "realists" that say that they honor the Yalta accords, the entire policy--for them, even under such conditions, socialism can be streamlined according to the model of capitalist reasoning. This is understood and acceptable for our political allies, but it should not be tolerated within the party itself.

Let us take a look at those that, while proclaiming their prosocialist leanings, "do their own thing." At one extreme we have those that wish to blend in and propose only a political prosocialist trend based on the good sense of reconciliation to the geopolitical realities along with the irreversibility of systems-type changes. Most of their streamlining solutions, in combination with the idea of getting out of the crisis, are justified practically by arguments of vulgar economism. As always, they stand for the activism of the elite, resourceful individuals that are shrewd and make money. They stand for the same, lower middle class vision of success. The slogan "get rich," and we will get over the crisis sooner masks the lower middle class longing to catch up to the rich, to improve their situation at all cost, after the model of the West.

The technocrats have thinned out but their progeny, the students of the 1970's, are present in full force. They have the same ideas as their predecessors about the never achieved ideal of the mass consumer society that is propagated in highly developed capitalist countries. We have here advocates of the various kinds of neocapitalist enterprises (private, Polonia and agential) that favor free market solutions according to the models of primitive capitalism (without progressive taxation, against state intervention, the social functions of the state and the like).

Directly or indirectly they treat economic reform merely as a preliminary step in restoring former social relations. They are ready to rush straight into socialism on the backs of the workers.

How they defend the authorities! Marvel at their collaborative devotion! But nothing for nothing--they expect that when necessary, the authorities will grant them political concessions, will give in in economic and ideological interests. They are in favor of socialism, so that they can gain control of it and transform it into their own model.

More people would like to take over socialism, although not all of them broadcast their intentions. In a state of siege, even the enemy can be mistaken for one's own if he does not make a show of the fact that he does not belong. In view of the open enmity of antisocialist forces, those that stand to profit by being "our own" wish to pass for such. They are "prosocialist" but they do not hide their bureaucratic arrogance, their concern for their own private interests, although they proclaim anti-working class views that are alien to scientific socialism. Their absorption into open, clearly evident anti-communism enables them to go unnoticed.

Even worse, some of them are firmly convinced that only they can pull the country out of the crisis, saving socialism. Their socialism.

The other extreme is represented by the so-called conservative sectarians. Ordinarily they identify with socialism to such an extent that they treat any danger to their own position and their obsolete methods as a threat to the system.

/They usurp for themselves alone the right to declare what is socialist and what is not. For them "we are the state."/

Hence the identification of the party with its apparatus, the state with bureaucracy and the economic administration with the entire enterprise. They have become accustomed to operating "from their level," primarily through administrative methods. Their professed position in favor of the working class is taken to its end in the working class aristocracy--what's more in the conservative foremen and brigade supervisors; it reaches only up to the point at which it begins to clash with their own image of socialism.

This is the orientation of people that have subordinated their ideals to their own acquisitiveness, interests and habits. They are inclined to defend both their endangered positions and socialism--to the very end.

Some of these people think in dogmatic terms and declare their prosocialist stance primarily in words, in the sphere of distant goals and ideals. They believe that they are an aware and organized minority that must oppose the unaware majority for its own good. In the spirit of this mission, they would like to build socialism with devotion as a sort of gift, defending the working people against the influence of the enemies of socialism. Their point of departure is the assumption that social realities are of no consequence since "the end justifies the means." All adversity, all evil is attributed to the enemy activity of their opponents. They are always ready to battle self-sacrificingly with the enemies of socialism, as they did, for example, against their attackers from Solidarity. However, they are helpless against the political opposition, since this requires them to counter intellectually, with ideological encounters. They distrust any broadening of the front of prosocialist forces, e.g., PRON. They are unable to work together with the allied competition. They are even suspicious of new people in the party apparatus.

They are usually defined as dogmatists in the ideological sense, although they call themselves "the real proletarian Left" or "Marxist-Leninist." But they flatter themselves, for this is neither theoretical veracity nor revolutionary practice. The advocates of this position treat ideology as a profession of faith, not as a transformation of the world. Hence their demonstrated anti-religiosity, their rivalrous moralizing, their preachiness, their disinclination toward class alliances, their longing for strong-arm governments (their orders and prohibitions) and their pretence of battle over the too "soft" rigors of martial law. They have their own theory of the building of socialism and they need the workers only as performers in a given scenario. They are ready to battle for socialism down to the last worker, to destroy anything and anyone that stands in their way. This is the misfortune of real socialism in Poland.

The sectarian politicians have done as much good as bad for this socialism. They gladly emphasize their services to the movement and on this score they defend their own opinions at all cost. When necessary, they resort to demagoguery, mouthing populist slogans, that poverty should be spread around evenly, or they divvy things up--this is for private enterprise and that is for private farming. The weaker they are, the more likely they are to provoke conflict.

In such a situation as we have at present, only the sharpening of the conflict gives them the opportunity to get through to the front lines. They play their game within the party itself. But there is a silver lining--they are too weak to gain control of the party.

While every exchange of thoughts and every discussion within the party is necessary and essential, their persistence in these two orientations, their clashes and struggles with each other, unfortunately can bring no good.

The victory of one of these groups does not offer hope for getting us out of the crisis web. It would not bring our socialist goals any closer.

/Both of these directions--the vulgar-economic and the political sectarian--keep themselves at a distance from the workers insofar as this is possible. In this they do not differ./

One must be vigilant in guarding oneself against both of these sides: on the one hand, worker interests must be defended against the competitively oriented advocates of technocratic reform and on the other hand, they must be defended against sectarian politicians from conservative circles.

Both groups were needed in the open battle with the desperately attacking political opposition, when every day decided the question: "to be or not to be." But the time will come when the "builders" that think in this way will not be "on track." It is not a question of a purging of ranks, but of purity of the guiding idea. It is not a question of getting rid of people, but of disburdening ourselves of questionable ideological and anti-worker views in the results of the solutions that they advance.

The most important criterion is and must be the attitude to the worker issue. This criterion joins all orientations and trends that consider themselves socialist. An old Marxist truth says that "the situation of the working class is the real foundation and point of departure for all social movements of the present day..."

The entire history of People's Poland confirms this truth. It is not an excess of subordination of authority to worker interests, but neglect to the detriment of working people that has always been the major source of all critical standstills and political conflicts. Today it is unequivocally clear that socialism cannot be built or defended without the participation of the working class. Others can only help or hinder.

The future, what is to come, now depends on the situation of the forces that have a pro-worker orientation. The pro-worker orientation is in no way as strong as we think. The reasons for this are many. The major one is the weakness of the party, carelessness in the training of cadres, a faulty cadre policy and ideological disorientation. It also happens because of the dispersal of the small group of the Marxist intelligentsia that identifies itself with the working class. This orientation is also weakened by the tendency of embittered workers to harbor anarchosyndicalistic illusions and to put their faith in antisocialist politicians that mask effectively the separateness of their interests.

In this situation, a great deal depends on the political leadership. This was always the case in similar situations. The essential need for the arbitration of someone outside the structure, a "strong man," becomes evident. Hence the exceptional, decisive role of such individuals. More than once, similar historical periods and similar individuals have been described. Under Polish conditions, such arbitration could not be restricted to reconciling clashing views alone. Sooner or later it would end in more than a personal defeat. It is terrible to think what would happen if one of these orientations was successful in gaining the upper hand in influence and in seizing power.

We will gradually get ourselves out of this situation, if the changes favor the attainment of workers of the really dominant positions in the state. Our emergence from the crisis in the direction of the socialist democracy--the organization of public life in accordance with the will and interests of the proletarian majority--is an opportunity. It is the involvement of the broad masses in government, their politicalization, a sort of revalorization of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

So much misunderstanding and ill will has grown up around the concept of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" that some questions certainly will have to be recalled and explained. In the Marxist-Leninist sense, every authority is the dictatorship of one class over another. Scientific socialism, with its typical frankness, emphasizes here the fact that however the exercise of authority is moderated and democratized, it will always be exercised according to the interests of the ruling class in the given system. Political rule is in essence nothing more than the ability "to impose on society the terms for the existence of its class as legal norms." (Communist Manifesto) From the beginning of its existence, the working-class movement set the goal of "struggling for the domination of proletarian interests." (Engels)

/The greater the opportunities, the more substantial the guarantees, the more the institutional forms of worker activism (political, social, cultural and economic)./

The All-Polish Conference of the Worker Aktiv [KNAR] proved the soundness of this direction of tasks quite clearly. The creation of such bridgeheads will make it easier to get through to the workers. Furthermore, it is worthwhile to consider the possibility of better organization of workers than has been the case thus far. Only in such solutions can we envisage an opportunity for overcoming both the threat of those that converge and the sectarian threat.

It is an opportunity for winning over the Polish version of NEP for the working class, for socialism.

In my opinion, the following issues are the ideological alphabet at present:

- 1) It is time to reorient and regroup the forces from the front of the struggle exclusively against our political opponents to the struggle over the shape of socialism, over gaining the support of the working class, especially young workers, over the ability to lead the worker element. Now we must handle the political opposition not only with force - through the speedy implementation of our own program. We must move toward the offensive.
- 2) What it means to be for socialism, today and tomorrow, especially tomorrow, must be clear. For whom and against whom, for what and against what, for what changes and why must all be clear. The concept of "overtaking" capitalism has proved false and unrealistic.
- 3) The crucial elements and the indispensable duties of the PZPR. On the strength of the Constitution and systems-type assumptions, the party is responsible for everything. But it is responsible exclusively for some issues. It should not bother about those that it resolves with the SD [Democratic Party], the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and even the Church. As we take up ideological questions, we must keep in mind the former, for which the party alone is responsible.

#### In Economic Activity

The diversity of such activity is growing (state, private, Polonia and cooperative). We have placed our bets on market incentives, through the pocketbook. The PZPR alone is responsible for seeing that this does not happen at the expense of the working class. It is a question of controlling state capitalism. Here Leninist experience is of no avail.

Economic activity is important today. Without it we cannot extricate ourselves from the crisis. It is a banal truth that social life creates the social consciousness. But we cannot think that first we will get ourselves out of the crisis and then we will worry about ideology. In emoluments we must give preference to work that is clearly directly production-related and also work that is a priority in terms of social services. Only this will bring us out of the crisis. In other words, we must take a priority approach to direct production and services work, so that it will be worthwhile to be a worker. Fewer workers than in the past are working in directly production-related positions after a year of economic restructuring. That is how we should understand the party's defense of worker interests today. And that is also how the workers themselves put the issue at the KNAR.

#### In Political Activity

Our emergence from the crisis must be democratic, through the development of the socialist democracy. What kind of democracy is this? So that the state would be something of their own, all citizens to some degree should have an

impact on state policy and on the decisionmaking of the authorities. But the working class should have a decisive impact. The voice of workers should be heard from every spot in the country. We have succeeded in gaining the support of various forces, but until the entire working class supports the party, every incident will be a threat, even if it involves only high-schoolers. If the wave of the working-class element is unsteady, all pacts (e.g., with artists or writers) are of no avail. We must rebuild the organizational forms of political worker activism.

#### In Ideological Activity

All orientations have grown active. The allied parties are in favor of humanistic values and they proclaim their desire to struggle for peace, for socialism of various hues and colors. The PZPR is charged with making socialism scientific, especially since Marxism has been cast aside. It does not fulfill the role of an instrument, but is useful for moralizing and for believing in. It is not good for transforming social reality. We can oppose other orientations with facts and knowledge, not with ideals and faith.

The party is in favor of the internalization of socialist values; it favors the active opposing of anarchosyndicalistic fantasies, the stupefaction caused by the demagoguery of sectarian politicians on the one hand and by vulgar economicism on the other; on the one hand backing only the activity of individuals, an elitist emergence from the crisis and on the other, "spreading it around," sharing poverty equally.

It [the party] is responsible for conquering class heredity and for social mobility. [It is responsible for] equalizing one's start in life, for creating for each person the possibility for development, in work and in socially useful abilities.

#### In International Activity

Together with our allied parties, we wish to cooperate with whomever this is possible. [We wish] to support every activity in the name of peace. But the PZPR is responsible for the international division of labor in CEMA, for coproduction and cooperation in various fields and for seeing that most of our international contracts are made with socialist countries, so that we do not become constrained by capitalism.

/The key question now is to resolve the conflicts that emanate from the fact that the PZPR must be both the ruling party and the party of the masses in the Leninist sense./

As experience demonstrates, the reconciliation of both of these functions is not so easy; the restoration of the party's working-class character, its revitalization as the party, i.e., the restoration of its former partisanship, the exercise of authority in the name of the working class, the guarding of worker interests in clashes with the interests of other classes and strata.

The proper cadres are necessary for this: another kind of full-time party apparatus and another kind of theoretical party front. The current apparatus

is composed primarily of party officials, mostly specialists used to bureaucratic work within party, state and economic structures, i.e., in the structures of authority, in specialized institutions and the like. They are the experts, needed in the ruling party, but ill-suited or unsuited to situations where the elemental, spontaneous, instinctive action of workers and peasants must be inspired through revolutionary theory. This was evident during the entire stormy period of Solidarity's activity: they could say little and had little to say about the waves of strikes, they were unable to win over the elemental worker movement, they lost the battle with KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense KOR] and the KPN [Confederation for Independent Poland], demonstrating their combat ability from safe positions, behind the forces of public order.

A professional, full-time party worker must be at once a specialist and a statesman. [He must] combine the professional and the political viewpoint, be firmly rooted in the masses, know this kind of social work, but also know how to organize and how to manage. [He must] be in command of the indispensable knowledge in exercising authority. The cadre policy in the party should give preference to those individuals that have mastered the body of the works of party theoreticians and that know how to make use of the methodology of scientific socialism--in a word, educated people, as well as knowing how to work among the people--workers, peasants and the intelligentsia; [people that are] able to lead the spontaneous activities of workforces, trade unions and elemental youth movements. This requires a somewhat different type of knowledge and experience than that with which we are now satisfied.

Only such people are able to understand the natural quality and the need for elemental, spontaneous, instinctive activities in which everyday awareness and everyday experience may be revealed, along with the will to act, to become organized and to change the world for the better. Thereby, Lenin's "commandment" of learning from the masses is fulfilled. This is an art that is not easy to possess, just as it is not easy to conduct a proworker policy after thorough analysis of the beliefs of various classes, strata and milieus.

The party's ability to perform this role on the one hand and to raise the consciousness of the masses on the other rests with the cadres prepared to work among the people. However, the professional and elected aktiv are not enough. They need the solid support of the entire theoretical party front (scientific Marxist milieus and party schools and institutes). There is no rejuvenation of the PZPR itself without its revitalization in the political-systems-type and socioeconomic fields, without the organization of the production forces and material existence of the people.

The cadres of the ruling party's theoretical front should oversee the effectiveness of socioeconomic activities, an increase in the effectiveness of reform ventures and the efficiency of the entire system, getting to the root of the causes of everything that is amiss, e.g., low labor productivity.

The interest of the theoretical party front may not be restricted to questions of political struggle without taking into consideration spheres related to the state government and the management and organization of the economy. Party theoreticians have a duty to carry on a polemic with the ideological opposition, with reactionary philosophical currents and with superstitions and myths. But they also have a duty to define how to apply Marxism-Leninism here and now, under specific Polish conditions, how to make use of the heritage of human ideas--including those of capitalist countries--to serve the current needs of the building of socialism.

8536  
CSO: 2600/163

ROMANIA

MEETING MARKS USSR COMMUNIST YOUTH ANNIVERSARY

AU071225 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Nov 83 p 5

[Text] A festive meeting was organized in Bucharest on 3 November in the afternoon by the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY] and the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association to mark the 65th anniversary of the creation of the Union of the Leninist Communist Youth [ULCY] of the USSR.

Ion Bucur, secretary of the Bucharest municipal UCY committee, took the floor at this meeting. Stressing the significance for the Soviet youth of the anniversary of the creation of its communist organization, the speaker pointed out that the younger generation of Socialist Romania is following with keen interest and sincerely rejoices at the noteworthy successes achieved by the USSR peoples and by Soviet youth in their work of building socialism and communism in their fatherland. The speaker emphasized the constant development--in the spirit of summit talks--relations of friendship and cooperation between the UCY and ULCY, between the Romanian youth and the Soviet youth, and stressed the desire of the UCY to continue to act to expand those relations at various levels.

The meeting was also addressed by A.I. Plotnikov, counselor at the USSR Embassy in Bucharest, who stressed the importance of the anniversary of the ULCY and the role Soviet youth and its communist organizations play in the USSR's economic and socio-political activity.

The meeting was attended by members of the Secretariat of the UCY Central Committee, of the leadership of the Association for Ties With Foreign Countries, young workers, pupils, and students from Bucharest.

Y.M. Tyazhel'nikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, and embassy members were also present.

The meeting was followed by a Soviet documentary film program.

CSO: 2700/42

ROMANIA

PUGWASH SYMPOSIUM HELD IN BUCHAREST

Ceausescu Meets Participants

AU312222 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 31 Oct 83

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, first deputy prime minister of the government, chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, and chairman of the National Committee "Scientists and Peace," this afternoon received the participants in the 44th Pugwash international symposium. The meeting was attended by Comrade Manea Manescu, vice president of the State Council; Ion Ursu, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology; George Ciucu, deputy minister of education and instruction; Ion Anton, deputy chairman of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania; and Radu Voinea, chief of the Romanian group in Pugwash. Prominent figures of the world scientific life, including Nobel prize winners, academicians, and representatives of universities and scientific institutions in various countries were also present.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu made a speech.

Ceausescu Speech

AU031145 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Nov 83 p 1

[Speech delivered by President Nicolae Ceausescu at 31 October Bucharest meeting with participants in Pugwash International Symposium]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, comrades: Once again I want to wish you welcome at the Pugwash symposium.

In the past few days in Bucharest you have discussed problems that concern not just Europe, but the entire world. We are at a time of very grave international tension. It is true that after World War II the world went through some dangerous times; there were also periods of detente, as you pointed out, after the seventies. However, the current situation is perhaps one of the gravest. In recent years, even during the period of detente, weapons have been stockpiled that can destroy--as their holders themselves aver--all mankind at least 10 times over.

In hindsight, we should perhaps reproach ourselves for the detente period. We all thought that detente could be irreversible or at least be a long-term situation, and we ignored the fact that the production of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons continued throughout those years.

At present the situation in Europe is very serious. This is where almost all mass destruction arms, including nuclear ones, are stockpiled, and if the deployment of new intermediate-range missiles is not prevented, nuclear arsenals will increase even further, thus considerably increasing the destruction potential not only for Europe but for the entire world.

Europe has great merit for the creation and development of modern civilization. Of course, throughout history many areas have contributed to mankind's civilization and development; but Europe can be described as the cradle of the present civilization. And now, Europe is in danger. The destruction of Europe will be the destruction of all civilization. However, there is an even greater danger, namely that man himself and life on our planet will be destroyed. Hence, the problem of halting the arms race, preventing another war, imposing disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and securing peace is the fundamental issue of our era.

The two world wars of this century started in Europe. We must do everything possible to preclude a third one, which would destroy the world.

There are undoubtedly many problems in Europe and in the world: economic, social, cultural, and scientific. There are many problems that the peoples, governments, and science must resolve. There are still many rights that people cannot fully possess, but the essential thing now is to ensure their basic right, the right to life.

I thus greatly appreciate your symposium for having dealt with the matter of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free area and with the matter of peace in Europe and in the world. Undoubtedly your appeal to the two military blocs and to heads of nuclear states will have a great impact on international public opinion. We hope it will be properly understood and noted by heads of state and government, and especially of the two big powers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, and that the latter will do everything possible to arrive at an agreement at Geneva and to halt the deployment of intermediate-range missiles. We hope that this appeal will be understood by the heads of state and government of the countries where such missiles are scheduled to be deployed and that they will not permit additional nuclear arms on their territory.

I believe that now, this month, we must intensify our efforts along this line. We attach great importance to the great peace demonstrations currently underway in Europe. The hundreds of thousands and millions of people marching in such demonstrations demand the cancellation of the deployment of intermediate-range missiles; they demand an agreement in Geneva between the Soviet Union and the United States and an end to nuclear arms, and that is the will of all European nations and the entire world.

Men of science and culture are very active in the peace movement; however, I want to tell you frankly that in my view, they could do even more. Of course, workers could do what they have done more than once: refuse to manufacture and transport nuclear arms; but the main producers are the scientists. They must stop working for man's destruction, must refuse to produce nuclear weapons and to work on such arms.

After Hiroshima many of the people instrumental in the creation of the bomb admitted to having erred. Now, however, the situation is such that should nuclear arms be wielded again, there would probably be no one left to admit to the mistake. Of course, there are statements and warnings as to the responsibility of those making use of nuclear weapons, but there will probably be no one left to take them to account. It is now that we must put an end to the arms race, halt the deployment of new nuclear missiles, and remove and destroy the ones in place.

There is again talk of a new scientific-technical revolution in the year 2000. The potential of knowledge and science is of course immeasurable. But to arrive at that point in the future we must ensure that people have peace and quiet and we must block the road to nuclear catastrophe. That, perhaps--to use the same terms--should be the starting point of the revolution: destruction of nuclear arms and creation of a world free of wars, a world of peace and peaceful cooperation among all the nations and countries, regardless of social system.

We Romanians are concerned with developing our country and with improving our people's life; however, we are aware of the fact that we cannot do so unless there is peace and international cooperation. The contest between states with different social systems should take place not in the area of destructive potential, but in that of science, culture, industry and in the area of providing ever better working, living, and cultural conditions for the people. There is much to be done in this respect. You are familiar with studies published by various institutes about underdevelopment, about hundreds of millions of starving people, and about tens of millions of unemployed, many of them scientists and men of culture, particularly young ones. All the resources that are currently used to produce mass destruction weapons should be channelled toward solving the complex problems of living and of mankind's progress and civilization.

I hope that your appeal and statements will reach men of science and culture everywhere and make them intensify their efforts in close cooperation with the millions of people of the world who are struggling to safeguard peace.

Although the situation is serious, we believe that it is still not too late and that the path toward abyss and catastrophe can still be barred and world peace ensured. And we must do everything possible for that! You may rest assured that Romanian men of science and culture and all our people will further work energetically along this line.

Once again I want to stress the importance of your symposium at this time and the importance of your appeals. I wish all the participants in the Pugwash symposium ever greater success in their work! May peace, understanding, and cooperation among all scientists and all nations triumph!

I wish you success in your work and good health! (loud applause)

#### Symposium Concludes

AU011615 Bucharest AGERPRESS in English 0935 GMT 1 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Bucharest AGERPRESS 1/11/1983--The works of the 44th Pugwash international symposium were held in Bucharest over October 28-31.

Inaugurated under the sign of the ideas and exhortations in the message addressed by Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, to the participants, the works of the reunion were an occasion to debate highly topical and significant problems: disarmament and peace in the Balkans, in the European continent and throughout the world.

On behalf of the Romanian participants, of the members of the national committee, "Scientists and Peace," Prof Ion Ursu, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, expressed his satisfaction at the success of the meeting, and his adhesion to the principles in the documents adopted during the symposium.

At the close of the proceedings, the text of a telegram addressed to Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, was adopted.

CSO: 2700/44

ROMANIA

ACTIVITY OF 'IOAN VODA' MILITARY SCHOOL FOR ARTILLERY OFFICERS

Bucharest VIATA MILITARA in Romanian Jun 83 pp 13, 31

[Article by Constantin Dumitru: "Periods of Passion, Periods of Self-Sacrifice. Notes From the 'Ioan Voda' Military School for Artillery Officers."]

[Text]. When you enter a military training institute which, in just one decade, was decorated three times and whose youth organization was honored with the flag of the Union of Communist Youth Central Committee (here, receiving the rating of "outstanding" in all areas of training has become a habit), it is not easy to select the men and the significant moments necessary to create a picture which conveys the concentration of the efforts, passion, talent, and self-sacrifice of the cadre and students.

At the "Ioan Voda" Military School for Artillery Officers in Sibiu, we had the opportunity to convince ourselves once again that when constant concern for improving the professional knowledge of the students is combined with a permanent effort to raise the level of their political consciousness and to draw them into the task of forming their own personality, and that when the spirit of initiative and self-motivation is stimulated, it is possible to achieve a true working climate in which skills and energies are intensified while the results are always starting points, in the firm belief that everything can be done better. If we were to define the atmosphere in the school, we would say that the assignment of projects, their tenacious pursuit, and a kind of fever controlled with calmness set the pulse for each day and have become a matter of habit in which only the eye of an outsider can perceive something extraordinary.

Requirements for a High Degree of Professionalism

Comrade Major Ioan Lepadat, Chief of the Education and Combat Training Bureau, assured us that the departments of the school work closely together, providing for exchanges of experience and mutual assistance (in the areas of gunnery, the social sciences, tactics, and foreign languages), being concerned with the development of modern teaching methods, and cooperating so that the future graduates have the necessary attributes of specialist, political activist, and commander.

With respect to the social sciences, to the use of a modern teaching technology and the introduction of efficient methods has been added the improvement of the halls and laboratories of the various disciplines: the philosophy laboratory (Lieutenant Colonel Mircea Agabrian), the history room (Major Constantin Aldea), the hall for the organization, leadership, and methodology of political work in sub-units, and others. Comrade Colonel Ioan Tendrea, the deputy secretary for propaganda of the Party Committee, stated to us that the methodical study of the development and use of the means for political work, and the assimilation of the methods for organizing and leading political work, ensure that the students are trained to undertake the task of efficient political education of their future subordinates. Upperclassmen are trained through diverse activities at the school and in the city, as propaganda officers for sub-units of enlisted soliders, and in various activities for the patriotic education of the young people of Sibiu.

In the area of combat gunnery, the attainment of a general rating of "outstanding" underlines the high degree of skill of the students and the efficiency of the training in the laboratories of the various disciplines and on the gunnery ranges of the school. Organized in large measure through self-supply and with the broad participation of the students, as Comrade Colonel Alexandru Cinteza and Comrade Captain Vartolomeu David reported to us, the laboratories devoted to artillery pieces (howitzers, heavy guns, and mortars) present optimal conditions for weapons familiarization. Many of the training aids were put together in the school (such as the universal panel for checking the parallelism between the axis of the barrel and the optical axis of the sight for different caliber artillery pieces), and they demonstrate the inventiveness with which the complex problems of modern and effective training have been resolved. The auto laboratory, the artillery apparatus laboratory, the indoor gunnery range with mirrors, the small-scale field range, and the multipurpose range, a modern installation which simulates any artillery firing situation and offers, through an electronic display, complex data and reference points, are also places in which intense scientific research has been carried out.

The combining of activities (topography, artillery firing, small arms firing, etc.), alongside its economic effects, leads to the familiarization of the students with complex combat situations. In other respects, efficiency is the fundamental criterion for the adoption of any new training techniques. Obtaining a rating of "outstanding" with a minimal amount of munitions expended during gunnery training has permitted the holding of demonstrative firings with the munitions saved. But to achieve such performances there is a need for complex interdisciplinary training (artillerymen say that the first blow belongs to the topography) which combines a knowledge of topography, mathematics, ballistics, and informatics. The automation of fire control, the new procedure for executing direct fire, and the use of modern Romanian armaments requires complex knowledge.

To the integration of theoretical training with practical activity, there have been added the concerns for stimulating the students in the area of technical-scientific research and development. Within the specialty circles which exist at the school, the students, under the attentive guidance of the teaching staff, take advantage of optimal conditions to enhance their understanding,

knowledge, and interests. New ideas, whether it is a matter of technical, tactical, topographical, or ballistics problems, have not been late in materializing. Thus were developed the technical documentation for the future field base and the working algorithm for the application of informatics to the resolution of artillery problems; thus were also developed the automatic device for cleaning expended shell casings (for artillery weapons), the system for electronic display of the coordinates of the combat disposition, and an entire series of devices essential to the training process, all of which incorporate, equally, the technical imagination and creative efforts of the training cadres and the artillery students. According to Comrade Lieutenant Colonel Ioan Misinger, the fact that future students at the school will enjoy extraordinary conditions, to the attainment of which preceding generations of students have made a substantial contribution, constitutes an important foundation for a resolution of the tradition-innovation binomial in favor of what is new. Put another way (in artillery terms), tradition represents an important launching pad for innovation.

#### Reveille Was Played With Military Songs

According to a letter addressed to the leadership of the school by engineer Tiberiu Papas, director of the Livezile State Agricultural Enterprise of Timis County: "The diligence and earnestness of the students in their work are manifested each day, from dawn until dark, no matter what the weather, and have resulted in the achievement of work quotas 25 percent above plan. We have been deeply impressed by the high spirit of discipline and order exhibited by the students during the entire course of their presence here, proving once again that the military schools train future officers with high moral and political qualities."

Comrade Captain Octavian Maer recalls: "I arrived in Livezile on a moonless night. With the assistance of local agents, we had organized ourselves in several hours just like at the barracks, achieving what had seemed to be impossible. For everyone, bringing in the harvest was understood simply and properly as a patriotic duty."

Cadet Corporal Viorel Georgescu told us: "I am used to work. I worked at the aluminum processing enterprise in Vlatina. I helped my parents with agricultural work. At Livezile I was working on a team of loaders which included a country boy, 'Uncle Marin,' a true peasant with whom many of us still carry on correspondence. Although it was rainy in the summer, Uncle Marin remained near the trailers and we had to work alongside him, our tent halves on our backs. The corn arrived in the silos on time, and we were convinced that it was not a false heroism that motivated this adult peasant, but rather a sense of duty, experience, and deeper wisdom. For several days the machines were not able to enter the field, and if we had not worked in the rain a large quantity of the harvest would have spoiled."

Added student Corporal Valerica Ghilinta: "The people from the countryside became fond of us, although some of them had to adjust their schedules to ours. For a full month, reveille was played in Livezile with military songs."

### Notes of Youth

Although it was after duty hours, Comrade Lieutenant Constantin Afrim, deputy secretary of the school's committee of the Union of Communist Youth, was having a ponderous time: he was preparing to take on the role of the president of the Agricultural Production Cooperative in the play, "Love at First Sight," by Ion Baiesu, which was performed by the theater group from the Sibiu Army House at the national festival, "Hymn to Romania."

"Our graduates will also be active members of the Union of Communist Youth and, as a result, the activity of our organization is marked with a pronounced methodical character. Collectives for the organization, execution, and direction of the activity of the Union of Communist Youth ensures a complex training. Our organizational programs constitute the first area in which what has been learned can be applied. Obviously, most activities are related to professional training: the artillery olympics, the marksmanship contest, the cup for accurate gunnery, the diligence cup, the contest for familiarity with the history of artillery, the competition between patrols, and so on. The Union of Communist Youth members from the school are trained in organizing the Sibiu tourism contest, 'The Calls of Autumn.'"

Comrade Victor Draga, secretary of the Sibiu County Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, noted: "Circles for the national defense training of young people from industrial lycees numbers four and seven, and from the teaching and agro-industrial lycees, are led by cadres and students from the Ioan Voda Military School for Artillery Officers. We can say that the work undertaken by Comrades Lieutenant Major Dorin Mihalache, Lieutenant Constantin Afrim, Lieutenant Costica Eftimoiae, and others, is reflected in the results of these circles which lead the county. Today, in an atmosphere of perfect order and discipline, at the "record" range for young people, the PTAP [expansion unknown] circle from the teaching lycee executed firings with the 5.6 mm small-caliber weapon, and received a rating of 'outstanding.'"

We were not able to attend this activity because, on the same day (23 May of this year), at the Cultural Palace of the unions, the school's chorus was participating in the final phase of "The Hymn to Romania."

Comrade Lieutenant Colonel Nicolae Duculescu told us: "This chorus group founded in 1970 has participated in all versions of the festival, obtaining each time one of the three highest places in the country. In the school there are still three vocal groups, a thematic dance group, 11 artistic brigades among which is organized an annual contest, popular and light music groups and soloists (Student Sergeant Mihai Oprea has finished twice in second place in light music), recital groups, and so on. We are working closely with the Union of Communist Youth organization so that all our students will learn to organize a rich variety of cultural and artistic activities."

### The Tumult of Creative Work

Comrade Colonel Vasile Cosma, secretary of the party committee, told us: "At our school we have organized a conference of the teaching cadres of the County

which has brought about an attentive examination of the method in which, with ingenuity and not without effort, many problems related to improving the educational process have been resolved. The presence of uniformed professors at the Sibiu Institute of higher education and the participation of the staff and students in the accomplishment of certain cultural and scientific objectives of the County supplement the image of prestige which the specialists from 'Ioan Voda' enjoy."

In the discussion which we had with the commander of the school, Comrade Colonel Eugeniu Sibianu, it was difficult to establish a chronology of highlights. The completion of probation, gunnery over water, and instructional and evaluational firings will be followed by gunnery in the mountains, direct firing, productive practice, graduation, promotion and admission tests, and so on. At the present they are working intensely at organizing the school's museum. For better than a year, staff and students have been participating in laying out a modern field base which will offer, at the highest level of necessity, modern training technologies, on 14 firing ranges, with important savings in materials and energy. And afterwards?

Afterwards, another set of projects and the same fever of creative work and of restlessness which, perceiving in it something of the extraordinary, you place among the routine of certain facts which, at the 'Ioan Voda' Military School for Officers, become part of the daily occurrences and slip into the middle of a simple thought that reconstructs all at once the image of moments experienced--namely, that man consecrates his place, that reality must submit to true enthusiasm, and that nothing is difficult to accomplish when matters are thought out in time and done on time.

12449  
CSO: 2700/15

DECREE REGULATES PAID MEDICAL SERVICES

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 60, 1 Aug 83 pp 1-6

[Decrees of the Council of State on Regulation of Paid Medical Care]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees the following:

Article 1. Paid medical care will be provided to the public on demand, under the conditions specified by this Decree, as follows:

A. Paid Outpatient Medical Care

Article 2. Paid outpatient medical care will be organized by the Ministry of Health through paid dispensary clinics.

The dispensary clinics will include in their structure medical offices for consultations and medical laboratories for analyses, diagnosis, and treatment.

The paid dispensary clinics will operate on the basis of worker self-management and autonomy in economic and financial management, will be corporations, and will be organized in accordance with the norms of law governing the organization and management of socialist state units.

Article 3. Within the framework of paid outpatient medical care consultations will be given in the consultation offices of the dispensary clinics or at the homes of members of the public, and medical services will be provided for evaluation of the state of health, establishment of a diagnosis, and conduct of treatment in the event of sickness.

Laboratory analyses, x-ray examinations, other tests, and physical balneotherapy will be carried out by specialized departments of paid medical units.

Whenever such services cannot be provided in the specialized departments of paid medical units, they will be provided, at cost, in territorial medical units.

Article 4. Paid outpatient medical care may be provided by medical personnel residing in the localities to which such personnel are assigned; specifically:

- (a) primary physicians of grades I, II, and III, chief physician specialists, and stomatologists assigned to medical units, to higher and pharmaceutical education, and to medical scientific research units;
- (b) medical personnel with advanced training and intermediate medical personnel assigned to medical units, institutes of higher medical and pharmaceutical education, and medical scientific research units;
- (c) general practitioners assigned to medical units who provide paid medical care only at the homes of members of the public requesting such care;
- (d) medical personnel as specified in sections (a) through (c) who are pensioners.

The medical personnel who can provide paid outpatient medical care at paid medical units and at the homes of members of the public will be established by the district medical directorates and the medical directorate of the city of Bucharest, on demand, at the recommendation of the medical personnel disciplinary collegia of the districts and of the city of Bucharest, as a function of the number of employment positions in these units, the needs for medical care at the homes of members of the public, and requests by members of the public.

Physicians undergoing practical medical training or training in a medical specialty may not provide paid medical care.

Medical personnel who receive disability pensions or who are on medical leave, on a reduced work schedule, or on leave without pay will not be entitled to provide paid outpatient medical care so long as they are in one of these situations.

Article 5. Medical personnel may provide paid outpatient medical care only outside their work schedule in the unit to which they are assigned to a paid dispensary clinic.

Article 6. Medical personnel whose right to exercise their profession has been suspended or prohibited as provided by law, whose labor contract has been terminated by disciplinary action or because of improper professional conduct in their work, or who have violated the norms of medical ethics and deontology as established by the disciplinary collegia for medical personnel may not provide paid medical care.

Article 7. Paid dispensary clinics will be established and abolished, in keeping with medical care needs, by the people's councils of the districts and of the city of Bucharest, with the concurrence of the Ministry of Health.

The people's councils of the districts and of the city of Bucharest will take measures to ensure proper activation of the paid dispensary clinics specified in Annex No 1 within a period of 6 months from the date on which this Decree enters into effect.

Article 8. The revenue earned by medical units which provide paid outpatient medical care will be used to cover:

- (a) 10 percent of the total collections made, which is paid into the local budget as revenue;
- (b) expenses for maintenance and operation of the units, including routine and major repairs of structures, equipment, and apparatus;
- (c) the expenses connected with procurement of expendable medical materials needed for consultations, laboratory tests, x-ray examinations, and other medical studies treatments, and services performed at these units;
- (d) the remuneration entitlements provided by law for the permanent personnel, including taxes and social security contributions;
- (e) the expenses connected with development of the facilities, equipment, apparatus, passenger automobiles for home medical care, medical buildings, and other similar resources;
- (f) the share due the medical personnel who provide medical care in these units, including the tax and social security contribution. The amount of the share will be established after the expenses specified in subsections (a) through (e) have been covered. The amount due each person will be determined as a function of the contribution made to earning of revenue. The amounts will be paid outside the planned wage fund and the remuneration entitlements or old age or service pension due as provided by law within the framework of each cash plan.

Article 9. The income earned by medical personnel and retired medical personnel by providing paid outpatient medical care will be liable to the progressive tax established in accordance with Annex No 2.

Article 10. Medical personnel who provide paid outpatient medical care will receive the benefits due for this activity in addition to the benefits provided by law for remuneration according to the quantity and quality of labor.

Old age or service pensioners who are employed at paid dispensary clinics will be entitled to additions to their pensions, including supplementary pensions, of the amounts due for work performed, including the management allowance in the case of medical personnel performing the function of head physician.

Article 11. The cash available in the accounts of paid dispensary clinics as of 31 December of each year will be carried forward to the following year to cover the categories of expenses specified in Article 8.

Article 12. The real property and movable assets assembled as fixed capital necessary for organization of paid dispensary clinics will be provided by the executive committees of the people's councils of the districts and of the city of Bucharest, as provided by law. The executive committees of the people's councils will provide inventory items of small value or short service life and materials, by redistribution without charge, as the initial complement.

The executive committees of the people's councils will introduce investment projects for the paid dispensary clinics into the annual plans proportionately as the necessary capital is formed out of the income of the clinics.

Article 13. On proposal by paid dispensary clinics, the medical directorates may transfer to other medical units in the same district fixed capital, inventory items, and initial complement medical materials or medical materials procured during operation out of their own development funds.

Article 14. Paid dispensary clinics may receive bank credit for organization and efficient conduct of their activities.

Article 15. The rates to be charged for consultations, laboratory tests, x-ray examinations, functional explorations, treatment, and other medical services performed at paid dispensary clinics are those specified in Annex No 3.

The rates for services not included in the Annex will be established by the Ministry of Health, with the concurrence of the State Price Committee, by correlation, in order to ensure a suitable rate of return.

The rates established pursuant to the first and second paragraphs will be applied correspondingly at other medical units to persons who by law do not receive free medical care and to persons who by law are obliged to bear the expenses necessary for medical care.

The rates for medical services charged by paid dispensary clinics to foreigners temporarily present in the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania will be set by the Ministry of Health at the level of the rates charged for foreign citizens.

Article 16. Receipt of claiming of amounts in excess of the rates set, as well as failure to deduct the amounts collected for paid medical care provided in the home, will be punished as provided by law.

Article 17. Paid dispensary clinics will be outfitted with passenger automobiles as specified in Annex No 4 for the purpose of providing medical care in the home (the annex will be forwarded to the institutions concerned).

When they are established, paid dispensary clinics will be provided with at least one passenger automobile, under the conditions set forth in Article 12 of this Decree.

Article 18. Work output ratings for the permanent personnel of paid dispensary clinics will be established in accordance with Annex No 5 (the annex will be forwarded to the institutions concerned).

Article 19. The organization of paid dispensary clinics in 1983 will be ensured by addition, by individual plan administrators, to the number of personnel and to the planned wage fund.

## B. Paid Medical Care in Medical Units with Beds

Article 20. As of the date of this Decree, paid medical care will be organized in medical units with beds.

Article 21. The medical units with beds in which paid medical care is provided will be established by the executive committees of the people's councils of the districts and of the city of Bucharest or by ministries with their own medical networks, with the concurrence of the Ministry of Health. Paid medical care may be provided in separate sanatorium units specializing in certain fields of medicine and in separate sections with beds in existing wards at medical units, which will continue to operate in accordance with the unified structural standards for medical units.

Article 22. Paid medical care at medical units with beds will be provided, on demand, for convalescent patients or for medical recuperation, on the basis of a medical recommendation, during medical leave or as part of rest leave or leave without pay.

Article 23. Persons hospitalized as provided in Article 22 will bear subsistence costs as specified in Annex No 6, which will be paid to the medical unit in which such persons are hospitalized.

Article 24. Persons who wish to secure medical care in a particular medical unit with beds, regardless of the area in which they reside, may on request be hospitalized in these units, within the limits of around 10 percent of the total number of beds, and will pay hospitalization expenses at the level of the average cost for a bed in the respective unit, as established in the preceding quarter.

Persons hospitalized pursuant to the preceding paragraph will be entitled to receive the medical leave benefits provided by law.

Article 25. Of the amounts collected by medical units pursuant to the last paragraph of Article 3, 90 percent will be transferred to the budget, as a function of the subordination of the medical unit, and 10 percent will be retained by the unit and will be available to it. The 10 percent will be used to provide incentives to personnel who have contributed to earning of income, in proportion to the contribution made, and will be paid quarterly outside the planned wage fund and wage benefits, without exceeding the level of three scale wage amounts per year.

Article 26. The Ministry of Health, with the concurrence of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Labor, will, within a period of 30 days from the date of this Decree, draw up methodological standards applicable to paid medical care.

Article 27. Annexes No 1-6 will form an integral part of this Decree.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU  
President of the  
Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 1 August 1983

No 279

ANNEX No 1

Localities in which paid dispensary clinics  
are to be organized during the initial stage

<u>No</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>District localities</u>
1	ALBA	Alba Iulia, Blaj
2	ARAD	Arad
3	ARGES	Pitesti, Cimpulung, Curtea de Arges
4	BACAU	Bacau, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej
5	BIHOR	Oradea, Beius
6	BISTRITA- NASAUD	Bistrita, Nasaud
7	BOTOSANI	Botosani, Dorohoi
8	BRASOV	Brasov, Fagaras
9	BRAILA	Braila
10	BUZAU	Buzau, Rimnicu Sarat
11	CARAS- SEVERIN	Resita, Caransebes
12	CALARAS	Calaras
13	CLUJ	Cluj-Napoca, Turda, Dej
14	CONSTANTA	Constanta, Medgidia
15	COVASNA	Sfintu Gheorghe, Tigru Secuiesc
16	DIMBOVITA	Tirgoviste
17	DOLJ	Craiova, Calafat
18	GALATI	Galati, Tecuci
19	GIURGIU	Giurgiu
20	GORJ	Tirgu Jiu
21	HARGHITA	Miercurea-Ciuc, Odorheiu Secuiesc
22	HUNEDOARA	Deva, Hunedoara, Petrosani
23	IALOMITA	Slobozia
24	IASI	Iasi, Pascani
25	MARAMURES	Baia Mare, Sighetu Marmatiei
26	MEHEDINTI	Drobeta-Turnu Severin
27	MURES	Tirgu Mures, Sighisoara
28	NEAMT	Piatra-Neamt, Roman
29	OLT	Slatina, Caracal
30	PRAHOVA	Ploiesti, Cimpina
31	SATU MARE	Satu Mare
32	SALAJ	Zalau, Simleu Silvaniei
33	SIBIU	Sibiu, Medias
34	SUCEAVA	Suceava, Radauti
35	TELEORMAN	Alexandria, Turnu Magurele
36	TIMIS	Timisoara, Lugoj
37	TULCEA	Tulcea
38	VASLUI	Vaslui, Birlad
39	VILCEA	Rimnicu Vilcea
40	VRANCEA	Focsani, Adjud
41	CITY OF BUCHAREST	In each sector

ANNEX No 2

Amounts of tax imposed monthly, by income brackets,  
on amounts collected from paid dispensary clinics  
by medical personnel paid on the basis of revenue collected

<u>Taxable monthly income, lei</u>	<u>Monthly tax by brackets</u>
1 - 100	Exempt
101 - 200	6 percent of amount exceeding 100 lei
201 - 300	6 lei + 8 percent of amount exceeding 200 lei
301 - 400	14 lei + 9 percent of amount exceeding 300 lei
401 - 500	23 lei + 10 percent of amount exceeding 400 lei
501 - 600	33 lei + 12 percent of amount exceeding 500 lei
601 - 800	45 lei + 14 percent of amount exceeding 600 lei
801 - 1000	73 lei + 17 percent of amount exceeding 800 lei
1001 - 1200	107 lei + 23 percent of amount exceeding 1000 lei
1201 - 1400	153 lei + 25 percent of amount exceeding 1200 lei
1401 - 1700	203 lei + 27 percent of amount exceeding 1400 lei
1701 - 2000	284 lei + 29 percent of amount exceeding 1700 lei
2001 - 3000	371 lei + 31 percent of amount exceeding 2000 lei
3001 - 5000	681 lei + 34 percent of amount exceeding 3000 lei
5001 - 7000	1361 lei + 38 percent of amount exceeding 5000 lei
7001 - 9000	2121 lei + 42 percent of amount exceeding 7000 lei
9001 - 12000	2961 lei + 46 percent of amount exceeding 9000 lei
12001 - 15000	4341 lei + 50 percent of amount exceeding 12000 lei
Over 15000	5841 lei + 2 percent added to 50 percent for each 2500 lei

ANNEX No 3

Rates for medical services provided in paid dispensary clinics

	<u>Rate, lei</u>	<u>Rate, lei</u>
A. Consultation		
1. Primary consultation given by academicians, professors, and lecturers	90	4. Verification consultation for outpatients by academicians, professors, and lecturers
2. Consultation given by heads of wards of hospital clinics, hospitals in district seat cities, and primary physicians of grades I and II	70	5. Verification consultation given by heads of wards of hospital clinics, hospitals in district seat cities, and primary physicians of graded I and II for outpatients
3. Consultation given by other medical personnel	50	60

6. Verification consultation given by other medical personnel for outpatients	50	10. Consultation at home of patient given by academicians, professors, and lecturers, nighttime	150
7. Consultation at home of patient given by academicians, professors, or lecturers, daytime	120	11. Consultation at home of patient given by heads of wards of hospital clinics, hospitals in district seat cities, and primary physicians of grades I and II, daytime	100
8. Consultation at home of patient given by heads of wards of hospital clinics, hospitals in district seat cities, and primary physicians of grades I and II, daytime	90	12. Consultation at home of patient given by other medical personnel, nighttime	80
9. Consultation at home of patient given by other medical personnel, daytime	70		
<b>B. Laboratory analyses and tests</b>			
1. Erythrocyte count	15	16. Thoraco-pleuro-mediastino-pulmonary radioscopy	20
2. Thrombocyte count	15	17. Cardiopulmonary radiography (not including film)	30
3. Myelogram	60	18. EKG	30
4. Erythrocyte sedimentation rate	12	19. Cystoscopy	60
5. Prothrombin time	25	20. Forensic psychiatric expertise	300
6. Determination of blood type in ABO system	10	21. Forensic expertise based on medical documents to establish medical responsibility	400
7. Blood glucose measurement	25		
8. Determination of induced hyperglycemia	125		
9. Immunofluorescence test	60		
10. Total lipids	25		
11. Cholesterol measurement	25		
12. Chlorine in urine	20		
13. Urea measurement	20		
14. Coproparasitological test to diagnose intestinal parasitoses--direct microscopic examination --direct microscopic examination of concentrations and dyes --cultures	15 20 25		
15. Histopathological examination of article enclosed in paraffin	60		

C. Treatments

1. Subcutaneous, hypodermic, intramuscular injection (at clinic)	7	9. Appendectomy for chronic appendicitis and uncomplicated acute appendicitis	250
2. Acupuncture, per session	25	10. Gastric resection for ulcer or benign tumors	600
3. Incision of a phlegmon	50	11. Simple nephrectomy	500
4. Binding of linear wounds, up to 10 cm each	15	12. Hysterectomy via abdominal cavity	500
5. Infiltrations of Arnold's nerves facially, trigeminal branch, intercostally, etc.	20	13. Amputation of arm, forearm	400
6. Intravenous perfusion	20	14. Tenorrhaphy 1-2 forearm tendons + median nerve	
7. Thoracobrachial cast	125	neurorrhaphy	600
8. Extraction of monoradicicular tooth	30	15. Lobectomy or bilobectomy (pulmonary)	650
		16. Ablation of a basic cranial osseous lesion	650

NOTE:

1. The rates for medical services do not include drugs, x-ray film, contrast substances, medicinal plants, alloys of the Palliaq, Pallidor, dental gold etc. types, and prosthetic materials, with the exception of radioactive isotopes.
2. The rate applies to each service separately for specific services grouped together in a listing.
3. The rates charged for medical services performed at the home of a person requesting such services will be increased by 50 percent, with the exception of the rates for consultations for which such rates have been established.
4. The cost of transportation to the home of a patient, when not provided by the person requesting the visit, will be calculated at the Getex charge rate.

ANNEX No 6

Subsistence Expenses Paid by Convalescent  
or Recuperating Patients

	Lodging	Lei/bed/day	Total
		Food	
1. Room with 1-2 beds	20	16.50	36.50
2. Ward with 3-4 beds	9	16.50	25.50
3. Ward with 5-7 beds	7	16.50	23.50
4. Ward with more than 7 beds	5	16.50	21.50

6115  
CSO: 2700/303

ROMANIA

NEED FOR 'HIGH MORALITY, MAXIMUM RESPONSIBILITY' IN SPORTS

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 5 Oct 83 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Recently we have been noting "events" in our sports which hurt us, which even horrify us. It is a question of a number of failures in far-reaching international competitions in which our athletes have participated without bringing us the expected results and satisfactions. It is hard for us to understand and accept such a regression in a number of sports in which we were among the leaders in world and European championships until now. Let us recall the unsatisfactory conduct of our representatives in sports important in the Olympics, as well as athletics, fencing, boxing, wrestling, volleyball, swimming and so forth, without mentioning the recent failures of some club teams in the "European Cup" in soccer, which rightfully caused dissatisfaction and disillusionment among fans of the most popular sport, the one with the broadest mass audience.

Of course it is not hard for anyone to determine that the causes for the regression in our performance sports are linked primarily with the process of instruction and training, training methods and, last but not least, the professional quality of the performers and, in this connection, the system for selecting and promoting the valuable ones. We have written about these aspects and will continue to do so.

But today we want to discuss the counterperformances of Romanian sports in general and soccer in particular from the perspective of the inadequate educational work in the clubs and associations with even the local sports organs and centrals not showing enough concern in this direction. Of course, the failures involve the training, but to the same extent they concern education and morals in an activity with a broad mass audience with powerful social reverberations. Unfortunately, the acts of indiscipline and disorder in soccer--and not only in soccer--have serious consequences for performance. Referring to an appropriate example in this context, the recent failures in the "European Cups" are conclusive in this regard. However, we think it is serious that the failures are accompanied--perhaps even caused--by a number of actions which flagrantly go against not only the laws of sports but even the standards of socialist ethics and equity which completely govern our society. But even more serious is the fact that violation of these standards and the unsportsmanlike actions and attitudes and acts contrary to our spirit are not being discussed and analyzed firmly, with maximum exactingness, with responsibility, and they are not being

penalized according to their social gravity by the responsible factors, including the sports organs, whose work of guidance and checking in the clubs and associations is not adequate. But in order to give an example of the state of spirit and state of affairs let us refer to more recent "events" in the sport which, it is true, makes us happy but seems to bring us more unhappiness--soccer.

Just last week, the soccer commission of the federation judged--as it judged--a number of violations and unsportsmanlike actions, ordering more or less equitable penalties, being very severe in the case of some B divisions, but unexpectedly mild in the case of the front-ranking teams, the ones with the well-known players. So it is natural for these penalties to cause legitimate questions, even disbelief, among soccer fans, and not only them! These measures and punishments, however, were validated at Friday's session of the federal bureau and execution of them was postponed upon indication of the National Council for Physical Education and Sports [CNEFS].

From the start we should say that in some cases these penalties are mild and can only be considered an abdication from the regulations and principles but, at the same time, create the impression that the responsible factors themselves do not understand the profound causes, the mechanism, the significance and seriousness of such actions thoroughly enough. So they cannot have educational and preventive effects required in the case of such a serious precedent, which can cause similar actions in other players and on other teams to appear. The "idols" of the turf--and not only they!--will go on thinking that they can make their own laws, that they can ignore and violate the laws of fairplay, risking merely the minimum, almost symbolic punishments when they reject respectable sports conduct.

At a broader level, if we discuss the behavior of some sports figures, stars of the sports arena, we do this because they represent a role model for the young generation. Great sportsmen and, thus, the great soccer players, too, are idols for the young people. For that reason we cannot be indifferent to what is learned from them. Through their attitude in the sports arena as well as outside it they show their own way of living and thinking and . . . what level of awareness and education they have reached on the moral scale of society. Well, what model can the young person have in the "national" player who hurls insults at the referee, his teammates, the trainer and in more than a few cases--with obscene words and gestures--even the public?! For example, we know what some of the Craiova players said about their trainers and managers at the Regie student derby, but good sense prevents us from putting it . . . in print. And they are not the only ones who have caused disagreeable "spectacles" in the arena. What can actions bordering on good behavior in a sports event give rise to in the mind of a young person? What should he think about anarchic actions, about outbursts, hooligan gestures and profaning of the spirit of sportsmanlike behavior by the leading players until that moment respected by the entire world? Do we always have ideal models in our great soccer players? A player--regardless of the referee's decision in the arena--is not allowed to lose his poise, to fall prey to nerves and uncontrollable outbursts. If they cannot control themselves before the public, it means they are not true players. What we are publishing today also charges a certain situation, that is, the attitude toward the referee. Regardless of how the refereeing is done, the player is prohibited from disputing, from shouting out, from making defiant gestures. That worn record of

acting crazy is a justification for the naive. As far as we are concerned, we recognize merit, whenever demonstrable, through the testimony of SCINTEIA TINERETULUI of having given well-deserved praise to the University of Craiova team when, through the players' extraordinary efforts and great talent, they performed nicely and valuably for Romanian soccer, for the public and their supporters. Nobody can forget these results under any kinds of conditions. And even at this point we express faith in the Craiova players and the conviction that they will obtain new successes both at the club level as well as level of the representative teams which many of the Craiova players belong to. We would like to believe that the Craiova soccer players correctly understand the action of the disciplinary commission and the federation when they ordered some light penalties, with leniency, and that they see in these penalties an appreciation of their value and their performances and of their contribution to the national teams, where, for precisely that reason, we expect them to increase their output and the quality of the game for the triumph of Romanian soccer.

Yet, regardless of what great performances have been achieved, nobody can claim that these should become blank checks for unsatisfactory behavior, for unsportsmanlike outbursts, for serious violations of sports ethics. All soccer players must understand this, as must all of Romania's sports figures. Including the spectators, supporters and including the federation, the sports clubs and organs as a whole. Sports is not a phenomenon in itself. The whole world recognizes its educational and civic values, but scorn for these values is drastically penalized! So then, why should we look at the "case" started at the match between Student Sport and University of Craiova with leniency? Whom does it help? Nobody! Not the players, not the Craiova club, not our soccer! Leniency and clemency never have been welcome when we think of the group of soccer players, and not only them. We feel the key to the problem is the process of educating the players. They have to understand very exactly the rigors of performance sports, the rigors imposed by representing Romanian sports at the international level. Nobody ever has a right to reject these standards for any reason. Because, as we showed before, many of the counterperformances of Romanian sports recently are explained primarily by defects in educating some of the players. And in order to put our finger on it: chasing after certain items, haggling for strictly personal interests, attempts to earn as much as possible with as little work and sweat as possible and it is nearly as if concern with training and sports performance disappears from discussion. There is no need to name names because they are well known, but the tolerance of some clubs plays a basic role in nourishing these actions and mentalities.

From our viewpoint, the "case" of the University of Craiova must be considered a severe lesson. In this regard, what surprises us is at least the curious attitude adopted by some of our colleagues--particularly those from the local INAINTE press organ--who have searched for all kinds of causes, all kinds of excuses and explanations, with a proven intention of bias attempting to mask the truth, to minimize it and even to justify the Craiova players' unsportsmanlike outbursts. We do not and cannot agree with such a way of viewing matters. Indirectly a great wrong is being committed precisely on the players; it is exactly like the story of the parents who do not pull their child's ears when he does something which is not allowed. These occurrences, which nobody wants, can thus proliferate. Self-importance, conceit and arrogance are serious diseases and the greatest enemies of performance! The local sports organs as well

as Ministry of Education and Instruction, the Union of Communist Student Associations in Romania and the CNEFS are obligated to analyze the team's situation and firmly straighten things out with objectivity and maximum responsibility. It is absolutely strange that an educator, head of a sports club, can come before the federal bureau with threats, like Cornel Stroe, vice president of the University of Craiova, did on Friday: "I am authorized to say that our players will not come to the meeting of the team as long as they are suspended from the domestic championship!" There is the great respect for the public, for his own team and players, for Romanian soccer and for the interests of the national team as proven by a vice president of a club who, under the shield of authorities in which we do not believe--really, who could dare to permit endangering the interests of the national team?!--wants to intimidate the decision-making factors, scandalously doing this to the detriment of Romania's representative team. And if Prof C. Stroe sets the tone, nothing is more natural than for the entire team to listen to him and follow him as club director, as happened on the field of Regie, also. So it is clear that something is happening within the team, something which is aggravated while seeing it with your own eyes, due to the attitude of the club leadership and tolerance of the local sports factors. Precisely for that reason, someone should intervene urgently because, as Mircea Lucescu, the federation's technical director, stated at the same meeting, "special problems exist with the particular players and the club, not the national team, where behavior always has been absolutely irreproachable? "

We want the University of Craiova to remain that same good Romanian soccer team. This is our opinion and attitude. What dictates our attitude is respect for laws of the sport, for the moral and educational exactingness of our society. Because, as we have said before, deviations from discipline found in soccer also exist in other sports, bringing a clear regression in performance as it has here. Absences from training are being tolerated as are changes in the training programs, concessions are being made for the leading players and incredible counterperformances are being penalized symbolically more than anything else, with this meaning a reduction in instructional-educational work, the demands placed on the Romanian sports movement by the party and state leadership.

Precisely for that reason, we feel that the time has come to move to well-founded analyses, to energetic measures at all levels. The emphasis must be placed on educational work in the clubs and associations, where no kinds of violations and attitudes incompatible with the position of player, trainer or head of a sports unit can be tolerated anymore. It is urgently necessary for all the guilty parties to be held responsible, to be analyzed thoroughly with exactingness and correctness in the spirit of socialist ethics and equity. Along this line, one can appreciate that the CNEFS leadership recently took some laudable measures, but not all or always with the same consistency. Differentiations still are being made, concessions are being made for some, while the county councils for physical education and sports in turn are not determined to take categoric positions, just as the specialists and first-ranking technicians are not fully involved in educational work with the players and in analyzing the unsatisfactory results. Serious responsibilities also belong to the UTC organs and organizations in the process of educational work with the players; by their statutes they have direct tasks for training the players for work and life and they are required to organize and carry out actions to educate all

the players in the spirit of high patriotism and ardent devotion to Romania's sports colors and the clubs they represent.

The time has come for all the forces of Romanian sports, which are in no way negligible, to group together and form a unified whole, a powerful whole capable of insuring fulfillment and even overfulfillment of the tasks and goals placed before our sports movement by the party and state leadership. Exceptional conditions have been provided for all sports, for all the clubs and all young people for physical exercise and sports; we have an abundance of talents, while more and more future valuable players are rising from the Daciada arena, so that all conditions exist for a qualitative leap throughout Romanian sports. So we are waiting for the important international games coming up to bring prestigious successes to Romania and our sports through joint efforts, through intensification of educational work, through discipline, passion and high patriotic responsibility. Less than a year is left until the Los Angeles Olympics and just a month and a half until the decisive matches for the national soccer team, so that, we repeat, all factors with duties must form a common front with the players, with the trainers, with the clubs and the federations to obtain the highest level of performance in proportion to the conditions created for our sports and to the demands placed on our entire society.

8071  
CSO: 2700/17

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

DEPARTING DPRK AMBASSADOR--Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on 24 October received Sin In-ha, DPRK ambassador, on a farewell visit in connection with the end of his mission in our country. The ensuing talk took place in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [AU301641 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Oct 83 p 6 AU]

KIM IL-SONG CABLE TO CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general. I want to extend deep thanks to you for the warm congratulations and wishes you kindly conveyed to us on your own behalf and on behalf of the communists and all Romanian people on the 38th anniversary of the creation of the Korean Workers Party. Being convinced that the relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples will continue to strengthen and to develop in the spirit of what was agreed upon during our meetings, I want to extend to you personally and to the Romanian people wishes for increasingly greater successes in the struggle for implementing the 12th RCP congress decisions. Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party. [Text] [AU081340 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Nov 83 p 5]

CSO: 2700/42

YUGOSLAVIA

SUNDIC COMMENTS ON DANGERS FROM U.S.-SOVIET RIVALRY

LD121655 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Nov 83

[Text] While President Reagan considers the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in West Europe as an accomplished fact, the Soviet military leadership led by Marshal Ustinov is telling the United States that Moscow's reply will be in accordance with Washington's behavior. Milika Sundic is at the microphone:

President Reagan announced that the installation of 572 medium-range nuclear missiles will begin in West Europe next month unless satisfactory agreement is reached in the meantime in negotiations with Moscow. Before Reagan, this was also stated by the governments of some West European countries. It is not difficult to conclude, therefore, that no progress can be expected in Geneva in the remaining 20 days or so. Almost at the same time as President Reagan made this statement, the Soviet military leadership also came out with a clear warning that Moscow will readily accept the American challenge and that all necessary measures of protection from the imperialist threat will be taken. Although the United States continues to believe that the Soviet Union will not quit the Geneva negotiations on Euromissiles, not even after the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in West Europe, participants in the Moscow consultative meeting of the highest representatives of the Soviet Armed Forces, headed by Marshal Dmitriy Ustinov, obviously do not think of such a possibility, at least not until the Soviet Union has installed its missiles in the GDR and Czechoslovakia and perhaps also in some other countries which are members of the Warsaw Pact.

However, regardless of the constant intensification of relations between Moscow and Washington, not only in Europe but also in many other places, it is difficult to imagine that all dialogue will cease between the two superpowers. This would be very dangerous, especially in the conditions of growing mistrust and mutual suspicion. It is especially dangerous that this mistrust may also spread to interbloc relations and that the behavior of blocs toward the non-bloc world also contains clear symptoms of pressure and interference in internal affairs. The great powers, in fact, no longer hide their intentions toward certain nonaligned countries, especially those which loudly and in principle denounce the interference of superpowers in the internal affairs of independent states. The most sensitive hotbeds of crisis, such as those in the Middle East and Near East region, are used not only for interbloc settlement of accounts

but also for exerting pressure on many independent countries with the purpose of dragging them into mutual bargaining and rivalry--at the expense, of course, of their national interests. The smallest and even the most innocent causes are being used for various demarches which, frankly speaking, can bring the dialogue on more serious matters into question.

Yugoslavia, too, has not been spared these allegedly well-meaning pressures. Of course, it is superfluous to say that all attempts, regardless of what they are based on, to divert Yugoslavia from its road or to shake it in its clear antibloc commitment are in vain. Considering what will happen in Europe when the deployment of new missiles with nuclear warheads gets under way, Yugoslavia cannot get over this fact because such policy, accompanied by the crazy arms race, threatens peace on the continent and throughout the world. This is not a question of dehying someone's right to guard and preserve his national security but of abusing interbloc rivalry against those countries and peoples on which such behavior is being imposed by force.

Nothing can replace the policy of negotiations and agreement-making because as long as the negotiations last there is still some hope that the world will be spared a nuclear catastrophe. The great powers, unfortunately, do not have an answer as to what can happen if the only means of agreement-making between them is nuclear missiles directed against the East and against the West. Nobody except they can bear the responsibility for the possible consequences of such a policy.

CSO: 2800/74

YUGOSLAVIA

RIBICIC STRESSED UNITY OF ACTION IN LCY

LD081219 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2128 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Pula, 7 Nov (TANJUG)--Mitja Ribicic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke this evening before a Pula political aktiv about the current tasks facing the League of Communists today. The Croat LC political school for this year thus got under way in Pula.

Talking about the most important tasks in implementing the long-term stabilization program, Mitja Ribicic stressed that our goal was not somehow to survive this difficult period but rather to come out of it with the certain prospect of the continued progress of Yugoslavia.

Ribicic reaffirmed, as he had done this morning at a meeting with the Pula leadership, that it was high time for differentiation within the League of Communists, but only the sort of differentiation that would create a core to pull forward and against all the deviations we face today. These deviations, along with a degree of pessimism and an exaggerated emphasis on only negative aspects, have contributed to the situation in which all anti-self-management forces inside and outside the country have belittled everything we have created, pronouncing self-management the only culprit responsible for the current crisis situation. We must fight this together, and the unity of the LCY in action is the first battle we have to win in this struggle, Mitja Ribicic stressed.

CSO: 2800/74

YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENE OFFICIAL ON CENTRALIZATION, ENCAPSULATION

AU051930 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Oct 83 pp 7-8

[Interview with Janez Zemljarić, president of the Executive Committee of the SR of Slovenia, by Zvonko Logar and Dusa Damjanovic--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Against Radical Changes in the Foreign Exchange System

[Question] There is a quite widely spread belief that Slovenia's view of the foreign exchange system differs from that of other parts of our country. Is this true? What do you think about the idea of forming a unified Yugoslav foreign exchange market?

[Zemljarić] I resolutely deny we do not favor the foreign exchange market. On the contrary, we have consistently supported the foreign exchange market as it has been outlined in the Law on Foreign Exchange Transactions.

We do not completely agree with some changes in the foreign exchange market and with the Law on Paying in Convertible Currencies. However, the law was adopted and we are implementing it. Any accurate analysis should show that the law functions and produces results. Technical measures have been taken for repaying interest and a part of the obligations to foreign creditors. Banks from our republic have also participated several times in the last round of repayments of some debts of banks from other republics. This we also understand. We do not reject the obligation to solve together the most difficult problems. Failure to do so would result in much more difficult consequences.

It is said that it is necessary to create a foreign exchange market. We are also in favor of this. We will be the first ones to welcome it if it functions, because that will help our exporters, too. Although the shortage of foreign exchange was not the only reason for its ceasing to work, a question poses itself: How to form a foreign exchange market? Why don't the people concerned make an effort and calculate--there are so many fixed and guaranteed obligations, interest rates are so high, reproduction costs so much, our debts are so large. And in all Yugoslav banks, only negative balance will remain on all foreign exchange accounts. Negative balances only. Where to find foreign exchange for interbank meetings, as one of the forms of the foreign exchange market everyone expects the most of? Only illusions are being spread by this.

We are in favor of the foreign exchange market, but we understand this to mean that all relations governed by the law will be upheld. What I mean is not only at the meetings at which the National Bank and commercial banks mutually sell and buy foreign exchange. I consider all other things also, and that is why I think that the foreign exchange market has not died out completely. Let us see how foreign exchange circulates. Of the foreign exchange inflow, 5 percent is being earmarked for the Federation, 20 percent for energy raw materials, 3 percent for the National Bank reserves, 4.7 percent for solidarity aid in repaying debts, and 15 percent goes for social services of republics and provinces. All foreign exchange from the exchange services, foreign exchange obtained from gasoline coupons, and all new foreign exchange from foreign financial aid goes to the National Bank of Yugoslavia which further lends or sells it to commercial banks.

#### There Can Be No Talk About Encapsulation

[Question] Will you please comment on the Slovene orientation in agriculture. Is it true that there is an inclination now towards growing crops for which there are better conditions in other parts of the country? If that is true, does not such a policy lead to putting borders between Slovenia and the others?

[Zemljarič] What is involved is a total lack of information. We proceed from the fact that it is our duty to use all possibilities to the maximum. There are 25,000 hectares of fallow land in Slovenia today which was once cultivated. Besides, we have developed many processing plants for which there are insufficient quantities of raw materials. Therefore, our ambition is to make use of our potential and contribute to food supplies in order to reduce the pressure on other regions. This way requirements for imports are reduced and possibilities for exports increased.

#### On Unitarism

[Question] Slovenia frequently warns of the danger of unitarism. It seems to us that with the influence of republics and provinces, there is no such danger. What is meant with warnings about that in your republic?

[Zemljarič] The objective circumstances in which we are living and which depend to a great extent on economic trends make many people think that the way to progress must be sought in the closer association of forces in the country. Up to this point we all agree. However, we think that these connections should be based upon the foundations of our system, and that we should not seek a solution in a stronger apparatus, a stronger state. Not everyone agrees here. At this stage of development, it is impossible to return to the time when we had nothing. In 1950, at least some conditions were created; we not only started the democratization of our society, but we also endeavored to mobilize the widest initiative. The most dangerous thing is to give oneself illusions that bigger results, greater breakthroughs and advances can be achieved through state interventions and measures of the apparatus. A return to state regulation would have hard consequences and would push us into even greater problems.

Our strength lies in the self-management system in which the worker manages socially-owned production means in conformity with the economic and social nature of these means. The authority of a federal state can be based only on the responsibility of republics and autonomous provinces for their progress and for the development of the country as a whole, as well as on the strengthening of the fundamental rights of the commune as the basic socio-political and self-management community.

#### What Criticism Has Been Directed Towards Deposits

[Question] There is a lot of criticism in Slovenia about the deposit on the transfer of money out of the country. Will you please explain the reasons for these criticisms?

[Zemljarić] In the situation we found ourselves in, there was not much choice. The transfer of dinars and foreign exchange abroad had to be stopped by such a temporary measure. What was happening caused both economic and moral damage to our society. In this respect we also supported that measure. What there is to be done now is to make an objective analysis and find out whether there are still economic reasons for the measure to remain in force. We are doing such research and will send it to the Federal Executive Council.

We are especially sensitive about such measures because Yugoslav peoples' minorities live in all neighboring countries. Thus a considerable number of Slovene people live in Italy, Austria, and Hungary. They are still fighting for their national rights. The deposit has considerably reduced the possibility of contacts between mother nations and minorities. True, the possibilities of crossing borders in the small border areas have now somewhat increased. Nevertheless, the limits which were introduced create an impression with the minorities that they are being slightly forgotten.

We think that in the present situation one should create new opportunities for communication between people in border areas. In accordance with international agreements, borders should be opened for the people from border regions and those crossing with local border passes should be intensified with a view to preventing various deviations.

#### Criticism of Federal Administration

[Question] Much criticism has been directed from Slovenia at the Federal Administration. What is its substance?

[Zemljarić] During the period of the extensive development of the country, the administration was flourishing everywhere. And its quality is poor everywhere. Since we are going through the phase of transformation in all spheres, especially in the sphere of production, what is necessary is more creative work, much more efficient cadres who would offer proposals, would be able to understand changes in the world and in our country and understand economic processes, and be better acquainted with our system. I think that the present structure of administrative services cannot cope with this.

We are not satisfied with our administration, nor are our work organizations. However, considering the present authority of the federation and its great opportunities to influence economic currents and the distribution of income, the federal administration is much more subject to criticism.

This is a kind of a problem which cannot be solved by merely improving the situation in the administration. We know that there are systems with much better administration, but we shall achieve no results until we respect the bases of our self-managing system more and strengthen the responsibility of collectives for solving themselves many problems which now have to be solved by the administration in one way or another.

CSO: 2800/74

YUGOSLAVIA

CROATIAN INFORMATION BODIES VIEW PRESS FINANCES

LD081939 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 8 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 8 Nov (TANJUG)--The joint session of the Section for Information of the Croatian SAWP Republican Conference and of the Information Commission of the Croat Assembly discussed today the current socioeconomic position of the daily information and political press.

The session endorsed the request put forward by Zagreb radio and TV to increase the subscription rate by 120 dinars.

By March 1984 the Socialist Alliance section for information will prepare material on the functioning of the information system as a whole; furthermore, a debate will be set in motion at the Section for Yugoslav Radio and TV of the SAWPY Federal Conference about Yugoslav radio and TV operating more rationally.

The example of VECERNJI LIST was presented as an illustration of the material position of the daily information and political press. The paper, with a circulation of over \$?100,000), has reduced the number of its pages from an average of 31 to 22 per copy. In the first 9 months of the year VECERNJI LIST showed positive results in its business activity, but had it not been affected by the shortage of paper it would have had a loss of 26 million dinars. Such a forcible saving is clearly at variance with the sociopolitical function of the paper as well as with its obligations to its readers.

As for the position of radio and TV, this is best demonstrated by the fact that the ratio of funds spent for energy and technology as opposed to programming is 65 to 5; while 4 years ago this ratio was the other way around. This had to reflect on the quality of the programs.

CSO: 2800/74

YUGOSLAVIA

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA CC ON CULTURE

LD071953 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1152 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Sarajevo--Reactionary and counterrevolutionary activity on the part of groups and individuals continues to show up in culture. This was the assessment at today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, chaired by Hamdija Pozderac. A review was made of the ideopolitical tasks of the League of Communists in the socialist self-managing transformation of culture.

Esad Horozic, member of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, in his opening report, stated that such activity is particularly in evidence in certain literary, publicistic and historiographical works, memoirs and publications, and also in statements by individuals at certain platforms, roundtables and conferences of experts, in interviews, articles and plenums at home and abroad. He also opined that attempts to portray the state of affairs and relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina in a malicious and distorted manner are still evident, often in conniving collusions with individuals and groups from our own environment, a circumstance which does not always meet with timely and adequate response. On the other hand, Horozic said, it is untenable to believe that these phenomena are being introduced and transmitted from other environments, while we disregard the sources, manifestations, and factors of hostile activity and behavior contradictory to socialist self-management and Marxism which exist in our own environment. Successful waging of the political struggle against these phenomena and those responsible for them, including repressive measures, means at the same time an on-going ideological struggle and instant response to dissident phenomena in culture, as well as better-organized and more effective mobilization of creative forces towards achieving major projects and campaigns in this sphere, through which the togetherness of the nations and nationalities of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia may be promoted and strengthened.

Esad Horozic, member of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, also spoke about the important results achieved in this sphere. He said that in spite of the rather slow increase of financial resources, the cultural scene in the republic has been totally changed. All institutions and organizations are increasing their cultural activity; there is a rise in the level of democratization and demetropolization of first-class culture, particularly in the theater, music, and publishing, amateur cultural and

artistic activities are increasing in scale; there is an enhanced Marxist critical approach to the evaluation of the cultural legacy of all the nations and nationalities; and cultural cooperation between the republics and provinces, and on the international level, has been promoted. Here, too, however, numerous objective and subjective shortcomings are in evidence, primarily the fragmentation and smallscale nature of cultural institutions, the lack of adequate cooperation between self-managing interest communities operating in the sphere of culture, and the lack of initiatives toward association; and furthermore, there is evidence of resistance to the processes of self-managing integration. There are marked financial problems in cinematography, opera, (?ballet), and orchestras.

He went on to point out the opportunism and neutralism existing among a number of communist scientific and cultural workers in regard to the topical ideological trends in society and culture. Moreover, manifestations of subordination, inferiority, and servitude on the part of a number of scientific and cultural workers exist toward the cosmopolitan stance adopted by certain groups from journals, university departments, and other environments. He commented, too, that there are instances of some of our cultural and public workers holding the conceited idea that everything in Bosnia-Hercegovina, including the state of spirit and consciousness is quite ideal, and that dissenting notions come exclusively from outside.

Herozic advocated that material affairs in culture and cultural institutions should be resolved more rapidly, especially where more just distribution of existing funds is concerned. He voiced the need for a review of the opportunities and feasibility of an initiative regarding the elaboration and adoption of a self-managing agreement on association of funds for construction of an appropriate number of apartments for cultural workers and artists. In conclusion, he advocated economic benefits for the publishing industry.

Hamdija Pozderac, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, in taking part in the debate, spoke in particular today about the growing criticisms in culture. In the flood of criticisms which are heard in particular recently, all critical comments should be resolutely rejected which in fact do not contribute to the development of cultural activity but which use culture as the tactically most appropriate battleground for more general political intentions and often also for settling accounts. This kind of so-called criticism, in fact, of classical opposition activity towards the LCY policy, Pozderac warned, has already taken on dimensions of deliberately contrived literature calling for antisocialist and anticomunist theory and practice, not shrinking even from attacks on the basic values of our revolution. This type of criticism refers very often to what took place at one period of our past between our nations and nationalities, and the things which at that time antagonized individual nations and nationalities are taken as the point of departure in their writing. They hide behind those aspects of the cultural heritage of individual nations and nationalities which are not an expression--in a narrow sense of the word--of socioprogressive or socialist inspiration and which, according to them, were unjustly repressed, allegedly at the expense of one or another nation or nationality. The attempt is now made to "rectify" this alleged fault of the revolution through uncritical praise, through

presentation and aggressive integration into present-day trends of this heritage, which as it is, without remnants [word indistinct] deposits, motives, and mystifications of all those ideological approaches, which, in the final analysis, our revolution opposed.

In the assessment of the president of Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, most of such attempts also contain a pronounced hegemonist claim towards Bosnia-Hercegovina and they coincide with the negation of material and spiritual achievements which affirm Bosnia-Hercegovina as a historical, state, cultural, and political subject in the Yugoslav socialist community. For these reasons, our sensitivity and reaction to such attempts, regardless of their source, should be understood, Pozderac explained. On this occasion, too, it should be placed on record that we have not been nor are we against defining the approach to national literature and history and at the same time to fellowship on the foundations of genuine national equality. On the contrary, we have advocated and fought for, and are fighting for, Marxist critical evaluation of history and of the cultural and literary creativeness of the nations and nationalities both of Yugoslavia and of Bosnia-Hercegovina in line with clear ideological and political orientations which the workers' movement and the LC have devised. Because these basic ideological and political attitudes are again called into question, I have the feeling that the delay, dilemmas, and resistance in connection with the realization of the project of the history and literature of the nations and nationalities of Bosnia-Hercegovina are weighed down by such debates and such deliberations. Therefore, the work on these projects cannot be delayed. Hence, in scientific institutions the communists in charge of these projects, should make fresh and additional efforts to complete them as soon as possible.

In Pozderac's assessment, one of the causes of such a situation is also the reactivation of tendencies, along with practical attempts, to negate or to lump together into one's own treasury chests the cultural traditions and cultural present-day achievements of individual nations and nationalities of course, even those from their prenational periods. All this is grist to the mill of those who are opposed to our socialist self-managing path, of those who insist on the "provincial autonomy," both cultural and political, of some republics and provinces, and of those who would like to see these parts of the country under the tutelage and patronage of others, Hamdija Pozderac said among other things.

Speaking about the present situation and phenomena in literature, Miodrag Bogicevic said that there were phenomena of putting forward perfidious and transparent thoughts of all kinds of chauvinist limitations, which is not always simple to prove fully through ideological struggle, but which like a widespread cobweb bothers one's face. Ideological waverers should understand that so-called Bosnian spirit, clericalism, bourgeois conservatism, unitarism, and nationalistic separatism which impose on all communists the need to carry out a resolute and well-substantiated ideological struggle in culture instead of opposing this struggle by arbitrarily hiding the truths which are spoke. Therefore, Bogicevic said, these individuals are constantly in conflict with social trends by using papers and books for manipulation.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, following a broad debate on the ideopolitical tasks of communists in the socialist self-managing transformation of culture, established the tasks in implementing the conclusions of the 10th LCY Central Committee session and on the economic and political situation in the country. Hamdija Pozderac, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, spoke about this and he stressed the significance of implementing these conclusions in all 109 municipalities of this republic.

CSO: 2800/74

YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENE DAILY NOTES ANDROPOV'S 'PERIODIC' HEALTH 'TROUBLES'

AU101225 Ljubljana DELO in Sloveme 7 Nov 83 p 8

[Danilo Slivnik report]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 6 Nov--The festive event in the Kremlin yesterday which opened this year's festivities on the traditional October revolution holiday and at which Grigoriy Romanov, Politburo member of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke aroused attention primarily because Soviet leader Yuriy Andropov did not attend it.

This is understandable, of course, because it is rare for the head of the Soviet party and state to fail to attend festive occasions of this type although, at the same time, it is also true that, this year, the Kremlin in a certain way prepared the public in advance for something of this kind. The fact is that, a little more than a week ago, it was clearly stated in Andropov's answer and excuse to the participants of the third international meeting of "doctors of the world in the struggle to prevent the nuclear catastrophe" that he has a "cold."

This news aroused considerable attention already at the time, because it is not customary for the Kremlin to report on the health of the head of the state and party. Naturally, it is for this reason that the speculation about the state of his health have increased. It is no secret that Andropov does not enjoy the best of health and that he has periodic kidney and heart troubles. It is obviously for this reason that, this time, the Kremlin wanted to forestall the spreading of any further rumors. This is especially true in view of the fact that Andropov has not been seen in public already for some time. The last time he was seen was at his meeting with party veterans on 15 August.

CSO: 2800/74

YUGOSLAVIA

SPILJAK PRAISES AVNOJ DECISIONS IN BOOK FOREWORD

LD111821 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0958 GMT 11 Nov 83

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Nov (TANJUG)--The decisions of the second session of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] stand like a landmark in the contemporary history of our country, like a foundation stone in the creation of the new socialist federal state, the free and equal community of Yugoslav nations and nationalities. The past 40 years have been an exceptionally rich period in the life of our country, filled with revolutionary changes and a broad, genuine transformation, the most dynamic and certainly the most important period in the long history of the nations and nationalities populating the land of present-day Yugoslavia.

This is what Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, has written, among other things, in the foreword to the book "Our Years" (New Yugoslavia on the Front Pages 1943-83) by the writer Stevo Ostojic.

The foundations for our future life were laid even while the national liberation struggle was still underway, particularly on the principles of the decisions of the first AVNOJ session in Bihac, and the second session of this top body composed of democratically elected representatives of all our nations and nationalities in Jajce, Mika Spilak writes. Promoting the development of the elements of the new government on liberated territory, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the ideological creator, instigator and organizer of the uprising and the national liberation struggle, showed its principled policy for resolving the national question in action while the war was still raging.

The historical decisions of the second AVNOJ session, writes the president of the SFRY Presidency, signified a revolutionary change in government and the birth of the new Yugoslavia. Through their struggle and sacrifices all our nations and nationalities unmistakably aligned themselves with these decisions. The powerful brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia was forged in that struggle, and they won the right to decide themselves on their fate and to build a new life in a common future.

The role and achievements of Josip Broz Tito in the creation of the new Yugoslavia are of historical importance and have a permanent and lasting value. Tito is also the guiding idea of the book "Our Years," its "recurring theme" and constant, its real and inexhaustible inspiration, Mika Spiljak notes.

The book "Our Years" is at the same time an invitation to "joint reminiscences," an invitation to older people to recall what they themselves built, went through and survived, not to be forgotten, and to younger people to expand and deepen their incomplete knowledge of that period, of those 4 decades. And to all of us together--to remember those days--"our years"--so that in their experience we can draw new strength for new exertions, President Spiljak emphasizes in conclusion.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

NEW DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AMBASSADOR--Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)--Anton Vratusa, chairman of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber Committee for Foreign Policy, today received Milton Ray Guevara (TANJUG spelling), the newly appointed Dominican Republic ambassador to our country. [Text] [LD100629 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1626 GMT 9 Nov 83]

MONTENEGRIN SCIENCE ACADEMY PRESIDENT--Titograd, 21 Oct--At its session yesterday, the assembly of the Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts re-elected Dr Branislav Soskic as its president. The term of office of writer Cedo Vukovic, vice president of the academy, has been extended for another 2 years. Dr Marko Ulicevic was elected new secretary because Dr Bozina Ivanovic, heretofore secretary, did not want his term of office extended. [Text] [AU061519 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 83 p 10]

AMBASSADOR TO LEBANON--Belgrade--Mika Splijak, president of the SFRY Presidency, yesterday received Dragoslav Pejic, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFRY to the Republic of Lebanon, prior to the latter's departure to take up his post. [Text] [AU061519 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 83 p 7]

AMBASSADOR TO PERU--Belgrade--Mika Splijak, president of the SFRY Presidency, yesterday received Alija Bejzagic, newly appointed SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Peru, prior to the latter's departure to his post. [Text] [AU061519 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 83 p 7]

FOOD AID TO NICARAGUA--Mexico, 27 Oct (TANJUG)--The ship "Ljutomer" has brought aid of the Federal Executive Council to this friendly Central American country to the Nicaraguan Port of Corinto. This consignment consists of 300 tons of corn flour, 560 tons of rice, and 100 tons of canned meat. [Excerpt] [AU061519 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 83 p 7]

BELORUSSIAN SSR DELEGATION--Ljubljana, 18 Oct--Vlado Klemencic, vice president of the Slovene Executive Council, today talks with a Belorussian SSR delegation by Leonid Semenovich Firisanov, deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers. The delegation arrived in Slovenia for the opening of the exhibition "Science, Technology, and Economy of the Belorussian SSR." In the talk, in which also other Slovene officials participated, views were

exchanged on the sociopolitical and economic development of the SR of Slovenia and the Belorussian SSR. The Slovene delegation also made new proposals aimed at expanding and intensifying cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical, and cultural-educational fields. In the afternoon, Firisanov and Klemencic opened the Belorussian SSR exhibition in Ljubljana which will be opened until 28 October. [Summary] [AU061519 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 19 Oct 83 p 1]

BORDER CONVENTION WITH HUNGARY--In Belgrade yesterday, a convention was signed between the Federal Executive Council and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic on renewing, marking, and maintaining the border line and the border markers on the Yugoslav-Hungarian state border. [Text] [AU061519 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Oct 83 p 7]

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